

CAUSES, CORRELATES, AND OUTCOMES  
OF UNION COMMITMENT

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I hereby declare that this  
thesis is my own work and  
that I have not submitted  
it for the Degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy to any other  
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## ABSTRACT

The aim of the present thesis was to develop a process model of union commitment which would outline some of the causes and consequences of union commitment. A review of the literature on psychology's contributions to the area of labour revealed a lack of research but produced the conclusion that psychologists do have an important role to play in contributing to an understanding of the processes of labour organisations. Commitment to unions was chosen as the focus of the study because of its acknowledged importance in the development of a union psychology and its theoretical association with participation and democracy in unions. Drawing mainly on the literature on organisational commitment, a definition of union commitment was developed.

The first study set out to test the stability and dimensionality of union commitment on a sample of blue-collar workers. A 28-item version of the Commitment to the Union Scale developed by Gordon, Philpot, Burt, Thompson, and Spiller (1980) and refined by Ladd, Gordon, Beauvais and Morgan (1982) was administered to black and white members of the same union. Using a factor analytic technique, five orthogonal factors were extracted. The first two factors, Union Loyalty and Responsibility to the Union were found to generalise from previous studies. The remaining dimensions, Organisational/Work Loyalty, Belief in the Union, and Union Instrumentality, were introduced with the present blue-collar sample. Comparison of the factor structures of black and white members revealed no significant differences in the dimensionality of union commitment. However black members showed lower Responsibility to the Union. This was explained with respect to significant differences in union tenure. The concurrent validity of the constructs of commitment were assessed by correlating the factors of union commitment with measures of behavioural participation. Validity was found to be satisfactory. The need for lon-



gitudinal research looking at the causes of union commitment was discussed.

To this end the second study concentrated on constructing a causal model of union commitment. This model was derived from a review of previous research on organisational commitment and studies which had ascertained the correlates of union involvement and commitment. To empirically evaluate causal inferences between the various hypothesised components of the model, a longitudinal cross-lagged regression design and a path analytic procedure were adopted. Cross-lagged regression coefficients were calculated using a two-wave panel design to ascertain the direction and nature of the relationship between attitudes of commitment (Union loyalty) and participation in various formal union activities. These variables were then defined as endogenous variables in a path model which hypothesised perceived union instrumentality, extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction, union socialisation experiences, job involvement/alienation, life satisfaction and work beliefs to be antecedent, exogenous variables. A further aim of the study was to assess whether, and in what way, the personal, work, and job-related characteristics of black and white workers in South Africa differ, and to what extent different models of union commitment could be developed for different segments of the blue-collar sample.

For both the 'affluent,' white and 'disadvantaged', black segments of the sample, attitudes of commitment were found to cause greater participation and involvement in union activities. This finding was seen as confirmation of the importance of union commitment as a variable in the labour process and lent support to the theoretical, causal presumptions behind attitudinal approaches to commitment. In both black and white samples, perceptions of union instrumentality, extrinsic job dissatisfaction, and early socialisation experiences were found to be important predictors of commitment to the union. However differences were found between the sam-

ples in both the nature and strength of the relationships between other antecedent variables and union commitment. Dissatisfaction with intrinsic aspects of the job was a more important determinant of union loyalty amongst black workers. Furthermore, whereas greater job involvement caused positive attitudes of commitment amongst white workers, job alienation or noninvolvement was found to facilitate commitment amongst African workers. Also there were differences in the effects of work values on union commitment. A belief in the Protestant Work Ethic was a causal predictor of affective commitment for white subjects, but amongst black union members there was a strong adherence to Marxist-related beliefs and a greater class consciousness which determined union loyalty/commitment. The results indicated that different process models of union commitment need to be developed for workers of differing privilege and occupational status.

On the basis of the findings a process model of union commitment was developed which included various personal, work/organisational, and role-related antecedents to commitment, and conceived the outcome of greater commitment to be greater participation in essential union activities. Finally, an expanded model of union commitment was developed which took into account additional antecedents and incorporated structural and environmental determinants, as well as broadening the definition of commitment and its consequences.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Psychology and labour: A relationship of neglect<sup>1</sup>

To justify and understand the relevance of a study of union commitment, it is necessary to place the study within the broader context of psychology's relationship with organised labour. From its inception as a separate area of psychological investigation, industrial psychology's relationship with labour and the blue-collar worker has ranged from one of "mutual indifference" (Shostack, 1964) to one which has attempted to circumvent the institution of organised labour altogether (Gordon & Rurt, 1981; Gordon & Nurick, 1981; Huszczo, Wiggins, & Curry, 1984; Walker, 1979). This is surprising in a discipline which professes as its aim the application of behavioural science methodology and theory to ALL aspects of industrial work (Hinrichs, 1970). Research has focused mainly on workers rather than being done for or with them. As a consequence large areas of work remain ignored. For example, Studs Terkel (1977) introduces his book, *Working*, by saying.....

This book, being about work, is, by its very nature, about violence - to the spirit as well as to the body. It is about ulcers as well as accidents, about shouting matches as well as fistfights, about nervous breakdowns as well as kicking the dog around. It is, above all (or beneath all) about daily humiliations. To survive the day is triumph enough for the working wounded among the great many of us (p.1)

It is these types of problems that industrial psychology has neglected, especially amongst the lower occupational levels of the "working wounded." Instead it has tended to concentrate on such managerial issues as productivity and effectiveness, lead-

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this chapter have been published in C. Fullagar (1984) "Psychology and labour: A relationship of neglect," *South African Journal of Psychology*, 14, 95-100.

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ership, selection and training, and motivation (Dunnette, 1976). As early as 1947, Kornhauser stated that the liberation of psychology from a one-sided perspective rested in the development of a social psychology of labour-management relations.<sup>2</sup> However, since the 1950's, termed by Strauss (1977) as the "Golden Age" of research on unions, psychological attention to the problems of unions and labour-management relations has waned. The result, as Huszczo *et al.* (1984) note, is that unions now perceive "the contributions of psychologists, at best to be unrelated to their needs and, at worst, to be antithetical to their interests" (p.432).

In South Africa, psychologists' neglect of organised labour has been more pervasive than overseas (Fullagar, 1984). This fact is reflected in the marked lack of research in labour-management relations and the general indifference of textbooks, journals and psychologists to labour issues. One would like to argue that this is perhaps because of the relative lack of development of the discipline in this country and not necessarily to a bias in focus. And yet, despite Hudson (1962) historically placing the establishment of industrial psychology in South Africa with the foundation of the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR) in 1946, the principles of industrial psychology had been utilised and referred to as early as the 1910's (Bozzoli, 1978). With the establishment of the NIPR the country had its first institute whose purpose was to undertake research using the

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<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of the present thesis, the terms 'psychology' and 'industrial psychology' are used interchangeably as industrial psychology is defined as "the application of the methods, facts and principles of psychology to people at work" (Schultz, 1978, p.6). Consequently, industrial psychology is regarded as that field of psychology which relates to work.

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theoretical findings and methods of industrial psychology. The explicit aim of the NIPR was to provide increasingly sophisticated assistance to the government, industry, and commerce in matters of personnel management (Raubenheimer, 1974). Since then, in response to the demand for personnel practices, the application of industrial psychology has expanded with the establishment of several additional professional institutes, such as the National Development and Management Foundation (NDMF) in 1948, and the Institute for Personnel Management (IPM) in 1964. Whereas the former is generally concerned with the development of management, the IPM is more specifically aimed at improving "the use of manpower in South Africa by means of training managers and supervisors in effective management and personnel techniques" (Raubenheimer, 1974, p.117). In addition, separate departments of industrial psychology have been established at several of the country's universities. Many more universities, together with the various schools of business administration offer such industrial psychological courses as personnel, consumer psychology, organisational psychology, ergonomics and vocational counselling.

The existence of the above institutions and departments shows that the application of psychology to industry is well entrenched. Looking at the broader research picture however, although psychology accounts for approximately 20% of human science research and development expenditure by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in South Africa, only 9 (2,8%) of the 317 research projects undertaken in psychology between 1981 and 1984 were in industrial psychology (Whittle, 1985). Furthermore, the main focus of industrial research was on the problems of productivity and effectiveness, training and se-

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lection, motivation, power, and control. For instance, a survey of the research done by the NIPR over the last forty years illustrates industrial psychology's indifference to trade unions, industrial relations and industrial conflict (See Table 1.1).

Also, a glance at the texts used in industrial/organisational psychology at various universities throughout South Africa emphasises this neglect. A survey carried out by the author ascertained which books were being prescribed for organisational behaviour and industrial psychology courses at nine South African universities.<sup>1</sup> Analysis of these texts showed that only 0,6% of the sample's contents addressed the issues of organised labour and trade unions (See Table 1.2).

Furthermore, up until the end of 1984, only two articles relating to the broad area of industrial relations had been published in the three South African psychology journals - the *Journal of Behavioural Science*, the *South African Journal of Psychology* and *Psychologia Africana* (cf. Godsell, 1982, and Fullagar, 1984). Industrial psychologists have published articles in industrial relations journals but, with the exception of Bluen and Van Zwam (1983), these have not provided a distinctly psychological approach.

Given the above situation, it is possible for a student of the discipline to review the literature on industrial psychology and come away ignorant of the existence of and impact of labour

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<sup>1</sup> A distinction needs to be made here between organisational behaviour and industrial relations courses. The latter are offered as separate courses at several institutions. However, the emphasis in these courses tends to be on a legal-structural appraisal of industrial relations rather than attempting to apply a psychological perspective.

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Table 1.1

*Research undertaken between 1946 and 1986 by the NIPR*

Classification	% of total
Selection and training	28%
Productivity/efficiency	14%
Job evaluation/classification	11%
Attitudes toward training/work	9%
Motivation	7%
Absenteeism	5%
Race and utilisation of labour	6%
Turnover	5%
Management strategies	4%
Women in employment	4%
Industrial acc'dents/safety	4%
Industrial relations/trade unions/ industrial conflict	2%
Organisational sociology	1%

(Adapted from Webster, 1981, p.7)

organisations. The situation begs two questions. First, can industrial psychology make a valid contribution to the area of industrial relations in South Africa or is its neglect a function



Table 1.2  
Amount of coverage given to trade unions/labour in a sample of organisational behaviour  
and industrial psychology texts used in nine South African universities.

Author	Title and date	Number of references to labour/trade unions	Total number of pages	Number of pages on labour	% text given to labour
Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K.	<u>Organisational psychology (1980)</u>	0	324	0	0
Katz, D., & Kahn, R.	<u>The social psychology of organizations (2nd ed.) (1978)</u>	0	773	0	0
McCormick, E.J., & Tiffin, J.	<u>Industrial psychology (6th ed.) (1975)</u>	2	608	5	0.8
Porter, L.W., Lawler, E.E., & Hackman, J.B.	<u>Behavior in organizations (1975)</u>	1	523	1	0.4
Orpen, G.	<u>Productivity and black workers in South Africa (1976)</u>	1	270	12	4.4
Reitz, H.J.	<u>Behavior in organizations (2nd ed., 1981)</u>	0	535	0	0
Schein, E.	<u>Organizational psychology (1980)</u>	1	252	1	0.4
Schultz, D.P.	<u>Psychology and industry today (2nd ed.) (1978)</u>	7	471	3	0.6
Total			3756	22	0.6

(Adapted from Fullagar, 1984, p.96)

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of its irrelevance? Secondly, why has industrial psychology ignored the issues of labour for such a long time?

### *Psychology and industrial relations.*

Many theorists suggest that industrial relations should have a strong behavioural element (Bain & Clegg, 1974; Hyman, 1975; Jackson, 1977). The field has often been defined in ways which approximate the definitions of industrial psychology. For example, Margerison (1969) sees industrial relations as "the study of people in a situation, organisation or system interacting in the doing of work in relation to some form of contract either written or unwritten" (p.274). Industrial psychology is often broadly defined as the study of people inside (industrial) organisations (Schultz, 1978). And yet, despite the overlap in these definitions, the emphasis in the study and practice of industrial relations has been more on the procedural, operational, and developmental aspects (such as the systems and regulations determining work relations) rather than on the behavioural relationships and dynamics existing in industry (Blain & Gennard, 1970; Flanders, 1965). Bendix (1978) has described how studies in South Africa have.....

relied on historical analogy and economic methodology and concentrated on the origins, history, and development of the labour movement, the place, role, function and power of labour within society and the relationships between organised labour and the political institutions of the state, trade unions' history, organisation and leadership (p.25).

Research then has tended to concentrate on being descriptive rather than analytic (Walker, 1979). Within this descriptive framework, however, psychology has historically been acknowledged as having a strong explanatory role in industrial re-

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lations systems, especially by classical theorists who have explained unionism in the context of group, worker, and employer psychology (Hoxie, 1921; Periman, 1928; Shister, 1948).

The above views are conducive to the concept of a "systems approach" to the study of industrial relations. Many South African writers have reiterated that the study of the area requires some sort of multidisciplinary, multidimensional approach involving history, economics, socio'ogy, psychology and law. In practice, the danger of the systems approach has been the tendency for the various disciplines to "tear the subject apart by concentrating attention on some of its aspects to the exclusion or comparative neglect of others" (Flanders, 1965, pp. 9-10). This is certainly the case in South Africa, where great emphasis has been placed on Dunlop's theoretical framework as providing a basis for industrial relations theory (Bendix, 1978). Dunlop stresses that the environment is more important in determining industrial relations than the traditional psychological concerns of communication and human relations. Indeed, one of the major criticisms levelled at the systems approach developed by both Dunlop and Flanders is that it omits important psychological variables, such as human attitudes, perceptions, and motivations (Bain & Clegg, 1974; Jackson, 1977). More radical theorists, such as Hyman (1975), also note the dangers of neglecting the "human actors" involved in industrial relations.

There appears then to be a recognition of a need for a "psychology of industrial relations." Various tentative attempts have been made by psychologists overseas to gratify this need. As far back as 1920, Muscio (1920) was arguing that industrial psychology should support and enhance union welfare, and in the

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1950's and 1960's various books were published outlining the applicability of psychological principles to the phenomenon of unionisation (cf. Rosen & Rosen, 1955; Sayles & Strauss, 1953; Stagner, 1956; Stagner & Rosen, 1965). This interest was not limited to industrial/organisational psychologists. Clinical psychologists have also attempted to analyse union-management relations from an interpersonal perspective (cf. Muench, 1960; Speroff, 1960) and to understand some of the mental health problems confronting the worker (cf. Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958; Kornhauser, 1965). More recently, Gordon & Burt (1981) have commented that after a recession research into labour-related issues appears on the upswing.

Two of the areas which have begun to be investigated by psychologists are (a) the nature and determinants of the attitudes, needs and goals of union members (Bigoness, 1978; Brett, 1980; DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Gordon & Long, 1981; Kochan, 1980), and (b) the development of psychological models of conflict and bargaining behaviour (Brett, 1980; Peterson & Tracy, 1977; Stephenson, Kniveton & Morley, 1977; Walton & McKersie, 1965). One of the major pitfalls, however, in these initial delineations of a "union psychology" has been their psychological reductionism whereby psychologists have tended to define the field solely in terms of their own area of psychological interest, and view industrial relations as mostly interpersonal relations, ignoring its institutional and historical setting. Nevertheless, one does not wish to detract from these studies' attempt to redress the imbalance caused by industrial psychology's neglect of labour. The upswing in research has been accompanied by the formation of various committees within the American Psychological Association (APA) aimed at developing

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union research (e.g., the implementation in 1981 of the Task Force on Union Negotiation (TFUN)), as well as the publication of special editions of psychological journals which have specifically addressed the issue of psychology's relationship with labour (*International Review of Applied Psychology*, 1981, Vol. 30 (2); *American Psychologist*, 1984, Vol. 39 (4)).

Unfortunately, this trend has not been reflected in South African industrial psychology where there still prevails a utilitarian preoccupation with traditional managerial problems. This concern, which ignores the existence and impact of labour organisations, is surprising when confronted by a number of developments in industrial relations in this country. Firstly, there has been a tremendous growth in trade unions and union membership in recent years, especially since the 1979 and 1981 Amendments to the Labour Relations Act which facilitated the formation of unions by black workers. Union membership has doubled from 808,053 in 1979 (National Manpower Commission, 1983) to 1,545,824 in December 1983 (National Manpower Commission, 1984). Even though membership is still relatively small compared to unionised workers in the rest of the developed capitalist world (16%), the potential for union growth is great with an economically active population of ten million (National Manpower Commission, 1984). The increase in strike activity, despite the economic recession, is an indication of the growing involvement of unions in industrial conflict and the normalisation of industrial relations in South Africa (Webster, 1983)(See Table 1.3). Secondly, the establishment of various industrial relations and labour journals (e.g., the *South African Labour Bulletin*, the *South African Journal of Industrial Relations*, and the *South African Journal of Labour Relations*)



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Table 1.3

*The number of strikes and stoppages in South Africa over the past eight years (National Manpower Commission Report, 1984).*

Year	Number of strikes and stoppages
1977	90
1978	106
1979	101
1980	207
1981	342
1982	394
1983	336
1984	469

has provided a forum for debate between academics, unionists and industrial relations practitioners. Psychologists have made little contribution to this debate. Thirdly, as mentioned above, numerous academic courses in industrial relations have been established at various universities and graduate schools of business. However, few of these courses include an organisational psychological input. As Walker (1979) predicted, the outcome is that "the treatment of psychological factors in the scientific study of industrial relations consists mostly of ad hoc postulations almost at a commonsense level, rather than operationally measurable concepts articulated within the body of psychological theory"(p.6). Nonetheless, despite its neglect,



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industrial psychology does seem to have an acknowledged role to play in any interdisciplinary understanding of industrial relations. Why then has psychology neglected labour to the extent that it has?

### *Psychology's indifference to labour.*

A number of reasons have been suggested by both organisational theorists and psychologists explaining psychology's lack of interest in labour unions. Industrial psychology has always tended to identify itself with "managerial psychology." To a large extent it has allowed management to establish its research objectives and outline its focus of enquiry (Baritz, 1960; Kornhauser, 1947; Shostak, 1964). In many ways this can be seen as a legacy of scientific management. Viteles (1932) has outlined how scientific management prepared the way for the introduction of industrial psychology into industry. Once management perceived the utility of the empirical study and analysis of human behaviour for increasing productive efficiency, industrial psychology became a profitable approach. Consequently, right from its beginning, industrial psychology was under some form of obligation to management to promote the industrial efficiency of the individual worker. This relationship developed into a symbiotic one because of industrial psychology's need for management's sponsorship and provision of career potentialities to enable it to carry out the research necessary to build its theories.

One of the outcomes of this sponsorship effect was that it not only encouraged psychologists to adopt and reflect the views of management but it also restricted the scope of the discipline

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to management defined problems. Business sponsors were not interested in research on labour-management relations when these could be controlled using the traditional managerial approaches. As a result, industrial psychologists have cornered themselves into a position where, as representatives of managerial ideology, they cannot investigate the issues of industrial relations as so-called "objective social scientists." Indeed, most of the applications of industrial psychology to the management of human resources have been counteractive to the institutionalisation of unionism. Much human relations energy has been devoted to developing selection and training programs for getting labour to comply with managerial authority and readily accept the goals and values of the organisation. Hudson (1955) writing in the *Journal of the National Institute of Personnel Research* on communication with black workers, explicitly states.....

As industry grew and spread after the first world war, management came to realise the need for selling other things besides the product, of being interested in productivity, in good human relations, in morale. With the collapse of the master-servant relationship, with the development of trade unionism, with the introduction of mass media, it became possible and at the same time desirable, to sell capitalism to the workers. (p.21)

Also the developmental trend in organisational psychology toward such ends as greater job enrichment and improved selection techniques runs counter to many of the traditional goals of labour. For example, job enrichment techniques are perceived by unionists as increasing job dilution, and interfering with job classification and standards systems (Ranick, 1973; Shepard, 1974; Weinberg, 1974; Winpisinger, 1973). Furthermore, the emphasis in psychometric testing on individual differentiation amongst workers goes against the labour principles of solidarity and seniority (Barkin, 1961; Rhoads & Landy, 1973).

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In South Africa the study and understanding of industrial relations are often seen, erroneously, as the prerogative of personnel management (Keenan-Smith, 1981). Consequently, various superficial attempts have been made by personnel practitioners to apply psychological concepts to South African industrial relations (Godsell, 1982; Horner, 1981; Keenan-Smith, 1981; Templer, 1980). However, these constitute more a need to define a role for personnel managers in industrial relations, rather than a serious attempt to lay a foundation for a psychology of labour. Batstone (1979) has suggested that the personnel manager's role in industrial relations is a limited one by virtue of their close integration with general management and more centralised decision-making. Furthermore, their tendency to adopt a unitary approach to labour relations may increase labour conflict and negate the principles of collective bargaining. This has been confirmed by research done by Godsell, Bluen, and Malherbe (1981) which showed that many personnel practitioners in Transvaal companies ignored labour unions as significant participants in industrial relations matters, and that areas of concern to labour were handled mainly by line and personnel managers.

One needs here to underline Kornhauser's (1947) distinction between industrial psychology as management science and industrial psychology as social science. In response to career considerations and the pressures to provide a professional education, academic institutions have tended to emphasise the former at the expense of the latter. As management science, the discipline has shown little concern for social responsibility and no interest in the accommodation of conflict. Templer's (1980) research on the ideal and actual role perceptions of South African personnel

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managers showed this. As a social science however, industrial psychology does have a responsibility to all sections of the community and all organisational participants (Frost, 1980). At the very least, psychologists need to consider and acknowledge where their loyalties lie. The American Psychological Association states in the *Ethical principles in the conduct of research with human participants* (1973),

When there is conflict of interests between the client and the the psychologist's employing institution, psychologists should clarify the nature and direction of their loyalties and responsibilities and keep all parties informed of their commitment. (p.4)

Industrial psychology has not only been derelict in generating an understanding of unions and organised labour because of its management orientation. Its neglect is also attributable to the "middle class" backgrounds of many of its researchers. This has facilitated an indifference to labour through a process of "occupational socialisation" (Schein, 1980) whereby psychologists have had frequent contact with the problems of their own class, but lack the contact with other classes which is necessary to foster an understanding of the latter's problems. Webster (1981) has described how this "blinkered effect" is exacerbated in South Africa,

It has been widely argued that the effect of South Africa's racist structures and governmental policy is to compound the biases inherent in industrial research in a capitalist society in at least two ways; a) that by encouraging social scientists to develop separate theories of black and white industrial behaviour that take as given the social structure, they legitimate and reproduce intentionally or unintentionally apartheid; b) through direct or indirect pressure they make it difficult, if not virtually impossible, to undertake research in controversial areas. (p.16)

It is these factors which caused Webster to label industrial psychologists the "servants of apartheid."

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Ironically, even though industrial psychology has always exhibited a managerial bias, it has, at the same time, endeavoured to become a "respectable science" and to rigorously adhere to the methodologies of the physical sciences. In this respect, the discipline has suffered from an "inferiority complex" which has manifested itself in practitioners' constant need to achieve acceptance of, and support for, their work (Melzer & Nord, 1973). As suggested above, they tended to meet this need by attempting to show the utility of industrial psychology to managers for solving managerial problems. Baritz (1960) noted about early American industrial psychology that its emphasis was on the successful development of psychological tests. Furthermore, it was the development of these tests according to "scientific principles" which was perceived as psychology's entrance ticket into industry. Similarly in South Africa one of the first tasks confronting industrial psychologists and the NIPR was to establish 'scientific' tests for the selection of labour for the goldmines of the Witwatersrand (Bozzoli, 1978). Biesheuvel (1952), the founding director of the NIPR and regarded by many as the "father" of industrial/organisational psychology in South Africa, believed that just as the scientific approach had established control over the material side of the productive process, so science would provide the key in analysing the human side of the enterprise. The principles of scientific management were adopted, whereby once the worker had been 'scientifically' selected, he/she was developed to his/her maximum efficiency by ascertaining the best working environment and procedure, and linking an immediate pay incentive to the output. For example, Wim de Villiers in his popular book, *The effective utilisation of human resources in the Republic of South Africa* (1974), out-



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lines three major requirements for an incentive wage scheme to succeed with black workers:

The individual production of the worker during a set period must be measurable in simple units which can easily be understood by the Black. The ratio between the number of units produced during a set period and the financial incentive for it must be a direct, simple proportion which is easily understood. The basis of payment must not be susceptible to confusion. (p.71).

This emphasis on scientific selection and development has had two consequences. First, it has reinforced industrial psychology's tendency to gravitate toward measurement and test design and away from studying organisations as complex configurations of interdependent variables embedded in a social context. This is corroborated by Webster's analysis of social science research in South Africa (1981).

The second consequence of this image of "scientism", is that despite their managerial leaning, industrial psychologists still see themselves as being objective observers of industrial behaviour. The discipline is perceived as a "neutral science", and the industrial psychologist as a person who is not concerned with what is good or bad, moral or immoral, but just with uncovering objective facts, whether they be for or against his/her particular position. Kornhauser (1947) termed it the "cult of objectivity" and he described its votaries as "hiding behind indefensible notions of 'objectivity' and socio-political 'neutrality' as ways of keeping (their) biases from showing and as excuses for ignoring controversial issues, or for researching small, technical - and safe - corners of the problem" (p.243).

The fact is that applied psychology is inherently political since its findings may shift the balance in favour of one party



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at the expense of another. The values of the social scientist determine to a large extent the focus of the study, the interpretations of the data, and the application of the results. Consequently, by ignoring inherent values there is the danger that they become extraneous effects which produce unrecognisable errors (Melzer & Nord, 1973).

A more serious outcome of this utilitarian preoccupation with establishing objective evidence about organisational events is outlined by Gouldner (1970),

....the social science of a utilitarian culture always tends toward theoryless empiricism, in which the conceptualisation of problems is secondary and energies are instead given over to questions of measurement research or experimental design, sampling or instrumentation. A conceptual vacuum is thus created, ready to be filled by the common sense concerns and practical interests of clients, sponsors and research funders (p.82).

On a more theoretical level, industrial psychology's neglect of labour and industrial relations can be attributed to its misconceptions and neglect of conflict (Foster, 1983). Most theorists acknowledge the understanding of conflict as the basis of the study of industrial relations. Faucheux and Rojot (1979) note that "conflict is the motive force of any industrial relations system, all the processes of the system being driven by the necessity of accommodating conflict (p.36)." There can be no understanding of industrial life unless a realistic concept of conflict is accepted as a natural element of that life.

Psychology, however, has always held simplistic assumptions about the nature of industrial conflict (Strauss, 1979). Again, this is part of the inheritance of scientific management and human relations. Both these approaches viewed the relationship between management and labour as being essentially a harmonious

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one. Proponents of scientific management perceived conflict as irrational and non-logical and so they thought its expression should be prevented from interfering with the individual's economic and rational calculation of interests (Schein, 1980). Human relations (perhaps the more popular approach among industrial psychologists in South Africa) ascribed conflict primarily to interpersonal differences and the interaction of maladjusted personalities. They believed that the manifestation of conflict could be avoided if workers' emotional needs were satisfied by the organisation, these needs being similar throughout all levels of the organisation (Argyris, 1964; McGregor, 1960). Any conflict that did occur could be resolved through improved supervision, better communication and greater understanding between management and workers (Fullagar, 1983).

Going further back in industrial psychological history, Elton Mayo, regarded as the founder of human relations, strongly believed in industrial familism and harmony. For Mayo the organisation consisted of happily organised workers who voluntarily and spontaneously complied with the wishes of management toward the achievement and maintenance of the organisation's economic objectives: Conflict was an unnatural evil (Landsberger, 1958). Carey (1967), and Bramel and Friend (1981) have clearly documented how this view was philosophically unsound, based on inadequate methodological research, and facilitated the myth of a docile, irrational worker.

One notices this simplistic approach being utilised in studies which have attempted to apply psychology to issues of industrial conflict. Early psychological attempts at understanding industrial conflict attributed its causes to (a) interpersonal dif-

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ferences or aberrant personalities (McMurry, 1949), (b) the hypothesis of Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Seers (1939) that conflict is a result of frustration which leads to aggression (Stagner, 1965), (c) lack of understanding (Blake, Shepard, & Mouton, 1964) or (d) individual perceptions, motivations and subjective expected utilities (Stagner & Rosen, 1965). Given these views, it is easy to see how the psychologist's role in resolving conflict becomes that of the therapist, whose aim is to (a) help participants develop a more accurate perception and understanding of other's needs, (b) encourage better communication, (c) be a sympathetic listener, and (d) diffuse any feelings of frustration or aggression. The inadequacy of this approach is that it disguises the real problem of the division of power in the organisation and ignores environmental determinants of behaviour, such as social structure (Foster, 1983). Muench's (1960) psycho-analysis of an industrial dispute illustrates the point well. In trying to define conflict, Muench ignored prior changes in the organisation's system of pay and management's coercive attempts to instil discipline. He analysed the situation purely in terms of interpersonal psychotherapy.

Fox (1973) sees the human relations approach as being a "unitary" one, whereby the frame of reference emphasises a commonality of interest among all organisational participants. He contrasts this with a pluralistic approach which perceives the organisation as consisting of various groups of people with different interests, goals and aspirations. According to this assumption, conflict is not abnormal, but an inherent outcome of the structure of the organisation. Even though critics have argued that the pluralistic perspective on conflict is as equally mystifying as unitary approaches because it implies

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equality between the parties in conflict (Jackson, 1977), it is still a step toward a more realistic appraisal of conflict. Batstone's (1979) definition is perhaps a more appropriate one when considered in the context of South Africa where large segments of the population are discriminated against by racist legislation:

The basis of conflict in society lies in the fact that the extent to which differing interests receive recognition is unequal. Moreover, this inequality is a structured phenomenon, in the sense that the very nature of society biases behaviour to the advantage of some rather than others. Society and industry is not based on the full recognition of the needs and interests of all, and there exists a systematic domination of some others which is supported by little, if any, generally espoused rationale. (p.55)

Industrial psychologists then, have inherited a theoretical concept of conflict which is completely incompatible with an understanding of industrial relations. As a consequence, psychology possesses an inadequate theoretical and descriptive frame of reference to analyse union-management relations. The relationship between management and the union is essentially one of opposition and conflict, not one of harmony and cooperation as so many psychologists like to believe (Kornhauser, 1961).

The above biases have provided sound reasons for organised labour's distrust of psychology which in itself has prevented behavioural science research on unions (Gordon & Nurick, 1981). Participants in industrial relations have often commented on this suspicious attitude toward academic studies. However, a recent survey of American unionists' perceptions of psychologists (Huszczko *et al.*, 1984) suggests that unionists know little about the potential utility of psychological research and intervention. Although many did not agree that psychologists could serve as neutral facilitators in union-management re-

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lations, they did perceive that psychologists could perhaps play a useful role in the development and growth of unions. More specifically, the most important perceived contributions that psychologists could make were (a) the reduction of work-related stress, (b) the development of strategies to increase member participation in union activities and leadership training programs, (d) the improvement of communication between the union executive and union members and management and labour, and (e) the establishment of research which aims at enhancing union effectiveness (Huszcz et al., 1984).

### *Conclusion.*

To summarise then, it is generally recognised that psychology does have an important explanatory role to play in the development of any system of industrial relations. The success of this role however, is conditional on several theoretical and methodological issues. Industrial psychology needs to sever its monopolistic ties with managerial sponsorship and exert some energy investigating industrial relations' areas. As a social science it has an obligation to study ALL participants in industry. Recent psychological research has begun to provide the basis for a psychological model of unionisation. Not only has this research demonstrated the relevance and applicability of behavioural science concepts and methods to industrial relations, but it has also begun to redress the historical neglect by psychologists of labour issues. The present research, therefore, is an attempt to address these issues. Union commitment has been chosen as the focus of the study because of its recent identification as an important concept and its applicability to trade union membership (Gordon & Burt, 1981).



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In essence, by using union commitment as the analogue of various measures of job performance, a 'union psychology' which is the mirror image of 'industrial psychology as management' (Kornhauser, 1947) might be developed. (Gordon & Burt, 1981, p.150.)

The aims of the study also arose in response to the subject union's concern about decreasing membership participation and loss of membership to other emergent unions. Research on commitment to the union was felt by the union executive to have an important utilitarian value for the union and would also increase the welfare of the union. In the General Council of 1985, the president of the union stated that there was a problem of servicing members and that "we need greater commitment and greater involvement of our members" (*Crucible/Smeltkroes*, May 1985, p.17). Throughout the research, the union executive and shop stewards were involved in the operationalisation of union commitment and the collection of data respectively. The purpose of the study was to develop a model of union commitment which would outline the causes and outcomes of union commitment and thus provide the basis for an understanding of why workers become psychologically attached to labour organisations.

Finally, to accommodate the complex nature of the industrial relations arena, psychology needs to broaden its method to include multivariate analyses. One of the major problems with research which has been done in industrial relations by psychologists is that it has tended to rely on correlative data. As such it sheds little light on the problem of distinguishing between inputs, processes and outputs of the industrial relations system. The majority of studies on labour have been cross-sectional in nature and therefore are not capable of developing causative, dynamic models of labour processes. Studies



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in the present research will consist of multivariate and longitudinal analyses which will provide an explanation of the concept of commitment to labour organisations and indicate the directionality of the psychological and behavioural processes associated with union commitment. This dissertation, therefore, will continue by considering the concept of union commitment, its definition and its relevance to the understanding of labour organisations (Chapter 2). Once a definition of union commitment has been derived from the literature, it will be operationalised and its validity ascertained on a sample of blue-collar South African workers (Chapter 3). The remainder of the thesis will then proceed to develop a process model of union commitment and identify its antecedents and outcomes.

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### Toward a definition of union commitment

One important aspect of organisational theory that is of particular relevance to unions is the concept of commitment to labour organisations. Research on union commitment not only represents an attempt to redress the paucity of psychological research on labour, but also is an effort to clarify the relationship between union participation and psychological, behavioural and attitudinal variables to the union. The central role of union commitment is evident in Gordon, Philpot, Burt, Thompson and Spiller's (1980) observation that,

since the ability of union locals to attain their goals is generally based on the members' loyalty, belief in the objectives of organized labor, and willingness to perform services voluntarily, commitment is part of the very fabric of unions (p.480).

Gordon and Nurick (1981) now perceive union commitment to be a "major" variable in any applied psychological approach aimed at understanding unions. Investigating commitment in labour organisations then, (a) would provide greater insight into the psychological processes involved in unions, (b) provide unions with research of some practical efficacy, and (c) offer the opportunity of testing the generality of current models of commitment in a different type of social institution, such as a non-profit making labour organisation.

What little research that has been done on commitment to labour organisations has strong theoretical, conceptual and operational roots in the literature and research on organisational or company commitment. It is the aim of the present chapter to draw

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from the considerable research base on organisational commitment and to trace the sources of the definition of union commitment.

### *Organisational Commitment.*

Recently, the concept of organisational commitment has received increased attention from organisational psychologists (Amernic & Aranya, 1983). The reasons for this would appear to be that organisational commitment has been found to be related to (a) employee behaviours such as absenteeism, turnover, and, to a lesser extent, job performance (Angle & Perry, 1981; Hom, Katerberg & Hulin, 1979; also, Glueck & Osborn, 1978; Morris & Sherman, 1981; Mowday, Steers & Porter, 1979; Porter, Crampon & Smith, 1976; Porter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian, 1974; Steers, 1977), (b) personal characteristics such as age, sex, tenure and need for achievement (Angle & Perry, 1981; Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1972; Koch & Steers, 1978; Sheldon, 1971; Steers, 1977), (c) job-related characteristics such as satisfaction, involvement and tension (Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1972; Porter et al., 1974; Stevens, Beyer & Trice, 1978; Stone & Porter, 1976), job variety and task identity (Steers, 1977), autonomy and responsibility (Koch & Steers, 1978), and role conflict and ambiguity (Morris & Koch, 1979; Morris & Sherman, 1981), and (d) organisational characteristics such as organisational effectiveness (Mowday et al., 1982; Schein, 1977; Steers, 1975) and organisational adaptability (Angle & Perry, 1981). These studies would suggest that organisational commitment is an important concept in understanding individual behaviour in organisations. Furthermore, organisational commitment is a more stable and global measure of affective response to the organisation compared to measures

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of specific aspects of the task environment such as job satisfaction (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1979; Porter *et al.*, 1974). Nevertheless, despite the growing interest in organisational commitment, there is little consensus concerning its definition (Mowday *et al.*, 1982) (See Table 2.1). From the variety of definitions, however, two broad approaches to the conceptualisation of commitment can be discerned. These approaches are distinguished according to whether they emphasise (a) commitment related *behaviours* or (b) commitment related *attitudes* (Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Salancik, 1977; Staw, 1977). Both are relevant in providing a basis for a definition of union commitment.

*Behaviour-related approaches to commitment.* These approaches have their theoretical roots in the social psychological research of Festinger (1957), Becker (1960), Kanter (1968) and Kiesler (1971). Their industrial application has been elaborated on in the writings of Salancik (1977) and Staw (1977). The common denominator is that commitment is the outcome of various behavioural investments which the individual makes in the organisation and which bind him/her to the organisation. For example, the individual's dedication and loyalty to the organisation is induced by various personal investments in the organisation which make it costly or impossible for him/her to leave (Kanter, 1968). Commitment is seen here as part of a process of "side-bets" (Becker, 1960) whereby as time proceeds, the number of investments or "side-bets" that the individual places on the organisation increases. The longer the person's tenure and participation in the organisation, the greater his/her induced commitment. Individual investments can range from time, money, and effort expended for the organisation, to

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Table 2.1

*Definitions of organisational commitment.*

Author	Definition of organisational commitment
Buchanan (1974)	a partisan affective attachment to the goals and values of an organisation, to one's role in relation to goals and values, and to the organisation for its own sake, apart from its purely instrumental worth (p.533)
Hrebiniak & Alutto (1972)	a calculative involvement in the utilitarian employing system (p.560)
Cook & Wall (1980)	feelings of attachment to the goals and values of the organisation, one's role in relation to this, and attachment to the organisation for its own sake rather than for its strictly instrumental value (p.40)
Salancik (1977)	a state of being in which an individual becomes bound by his actions and through these actions to beliefs that sustain the activities and his own involvement (p.62)
Becker (1960)	commitments come into being when a person by making a side-bet, links extraneous interests with a consistent line of activity (p.32)
Porter & Smith (1970)	(1) a strong desire to remain a member of the particular organization, (2) a willingness to exert high levels of effort on behalf of the organization, and (3) a definite belief in and acceptance of the values and goals of the organization (p.2)
Kanter (1968)	the willingness of social actors to give their energy and loyalty to social systems, the attachment of personality systems to social relationships which are seen as self-expressive (p.499)
Hall, Schneider, & Nygren (1970)	the process by which the goals of the organization and those of the individual become increasingly integrated or congruent (p.176)

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contributions to pension funds, development of organisation-specific skills and status, organisational benefits such as a company car, housing subsidies, and so forth. These side-bets constitute 'golden handcuffs' which link the individual to the organisation. Organisational commitment, therefore, is conceived as the outcome of a process of cognitive dissonance, whereby the individual psychologically justifies, and is bound by, his/her actions which may exceed formal expectations.

Generally this approach views commitment to the organisation in terms of the perceived utility of continued participation, so that strong commitment is reflected in an unwillingness to change organisations for moderate personal advantage. Meyer and Allen (1984) have labelled this approach "continuance commitment" as it is based on the individual's desire to continue membership with the organisation for various economic reasons. Hence, Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972) define commitment as a "calculative involvement in the utilitarian employing system" (p.560). Furthermore, this model of commitment is behaviour-related or "member-based" because "the locus of events that culminate in the member's commitment is his or her own prior behavior" (Angle & Perry, 1983, p.124).

More specifically, Salancik (1977) has identified four characteristics of behavioural acts which render them binding: Behaviours which are (a) public, (b) explicit, (c) irrevocable, and (d) voluntary, have been found to enhance commitment. Salancik (1977) writes,

Commitment comes about when an individual is bound to his acts. Though the word bound is somewhat clumsy, what we mean by it is that the individual has identified himself with a particular behavior. Three characteristics bind an individual to his acts and hence commit him. They are the visibility, the irrevocability, and the volitionality



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of the behavior. By manipulating these three characteristics, an individual can be made to be more or less committed to his acts and their implications (p.64).

Within the context of labour organisations, Salancik's four characteristics would be manifested through membership initiation ceremonies, voting in a union election, paying union dues, participating in union activities, or holding a union office. These forms of public, explicit, irrevocable, and voluntary union-related behaviours would not only facilitate attachment to the union but also reformulate individual self-conceptions in terms of union values.

There have been a few studies which have found validity associations between the operationalisations of behaviour-related approaches to commitment and tenure (Alutto, Hrebiniak & Alonso, 1973; Alutto & Acito, 1974; Hrebiniak, 1974). Research has also been done which specifically supports the side-bet theory of organisational commitment (Shoemaker, Snizek & Bryant, 1977; Stevens *et al.*, 1978). However support for these approaches is equivocal (Aranya & Jacobson, 1975; Meyer & Allen, 1984; Ritzer & Trice, 1969). One reason for this may be that there is little psychometric support for most of the scales that are used to measure commitment. What little evidence there is tends to be limited to the internal consistency of items within the scale and fails to provide retest and factor analytic characteristics. Consequently, measures are frequently *ad hoc* and concerned with face validity only.

*Attitude-related approaches to commitment.* These approaches have been mainly propagated by organisational behaviour researchers (e.g. Buchanan, 1974; Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Porter & Smith, 1970), and they emphasise the attitudinal concomitants

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of commitment. Attitudinal commitment is said to exist when the individual identifies him/herself with the organisation (Sheldon, 1971) and integrates the goals of the organisation with their own (Hall *et al.*, 1970). For example, Porter and Smith (1975) conceptualise organisational commitment as consisting of (a) a strong *belief in and acceptance of* the organisation's goals and values; (b) a strong *desire* to maintain organisational membership; and (c) a *willingness* to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organisation. Similarly, Buchanan (1974) outlines three components of commitment; (a) identification with and adoption of organisational goals; (b) a feeling of attachment to and affection for the organisation; and (c), psychological involvement in one's work role. Both these definitions concur in seeing commitment as being composed of an identification with, and internalisation of, organisational goals, as well as a feeling of attachment to the organisation. There are subtle differences in the definition of the third component. Buchanan emphasises involvement as a form of satisfaction obtained from one's membership role, whereas Porter and Smith stress that commitment is indicated by a high level of effort which often goes beyond the requirements of the membership role. As Cook and Wall (1980) note, "the difference between the two positions is whether or not a person's involvement with his work goes beyond the job itself such that he works hard for his own satisfaction and for the sake of the organisation (p.40)".

Implicit in these definitions is the idea that organisational commitment is a combination of both attitudes and behavioural intentions (Ferris & Aranya, 1983). Attitudinal commitment includes an identification with, an involvement in, and a loyalty

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to the organisation, whereas behavioural intentions reflect a willingness to exert effort on behalf of the organisation and a desire to retain one's membership. Angle and Perry (1983) see attitudinal approaches as part of an "organisation-based model" of organisational commitment whereby "a prospective member brings needs and goals to an organisation and agrees to supply her or his skill and energies in exchange for organisational resources capable of satisfying those needs and goals" (p.127). Commitment, then, is seen as the outcome of a reciprocal exchange relationship between the individual and the organisation which would support March and Simon's (1958) contention that individuals attach themselves to organisations in return for certain rewards from the organisation. In this sense, attitudinal approaches do have a calculative element, although this is downplayed. As Buchanan (1975) points out,

the commitment attitude is reciprocally valuable. It advances the interests of the individual as he develops the patterns of his work life just as surely as it furthers the ends of the organisation. This is important, for it is easy to misconceive commitment as an Orwellian device for subverting individuality in the service of the corporate organisation (pp.70-71).

The most widely used operationalisation of attitude-related commitment is Porter and Smith's (1970) Organisational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) (Mowday *et al.*, 1982). Numerous studies have reported reliability and validity evidence for the OCQ (Dubin, Champoux & Porter, 1974; Mowday *et al.*, 1979; Porter *et al.*, 1976; Porter *et al.*, 1974; Steers, 1977; Steers & Spencer, 1977; Stone & Porter, 1975). Coefficient alpha has ranged from 0,54 to 0,93 on different employee samples (Mowday *et al.*, 1979; O'Reilly & Roberts, 1978). Similarly, internal reliability, measured by a Kuder-Richardson coefficient, has ranged from 0,84 on project engineers (Ivancevich, 1979) to 0,91 on police offi-

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cers (Jermier & Berkes, 1979). Test-retest reliability also seems to be high. The convergent validity of the OCQ is good as suggested by significant negative correlations with intent to leave the organisation (Hom, Katerberg, & Hulin, 1979; Kerr & Jermier, 1978), and tenure (Meyer & Allen, 1984; Mowday *et al.*, 1979; Steers, 1977), and positive associations with work-oriented interests as measured by Dubin's (1956) Central Life Interests scale. Evidence for predictive validity has been suggested by consistent relations in the predicted direction with measures of turnover, absenteeism, and, to a lesser extent, performance on the job (Argle & Perry, 1981; Hom *et al.*, 1979; Mowday *et al.*, 1979; Porter *et al.*, 1976; Steers, 1977).

A few studies have compared attitude- and behaviour-related approaches to organisational commitment. Shoemaker, Snizek & Bryant (1977) found job satisfaction to be more closely associated with attitudinal commitment than with side-bet theory. Argle & Perry (1983) also concluded that the "organisation-based model" (attitudinal approach) of commitment accounted for more of the variance in the organisational commitment of bus operators, than a side-bet approach. Furthermore, comparisons between the two approaches have found the 'moral' versus 'calculative' conceptual distinction to be methodologically valid (Ferris & Aranya, 1983). Kidron (1978) found that whereas there was a significant relationship between moral commitment and work values (defined as the Protestant Work Ethic of the individual), a similar association was not found with calculative commitment. Also measures of attitudinal/moral commitment have been found to be better predictors of intent to leave and generally appear more efficient in measuring organisational commitment (Ferris & Aranya, 1983).

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Although attitudinal approaches have recently received greater empirical support (Amernic & Aranya, 1983; Angle & Perry, 1983; Ferris & Aranya, 1983; Morris & Sherman, 1981) and have provided the basis for research on union commitment (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd, Gordon, Beauvais & Morgan, 1982), both approaches remain relevant to understanding the nature of commitment to labour organisations. Mowday *et al.* (1980) note,

....If we are to make progress in understanding the commitment construct, it is necessary to consider both forms (attitudinal and behavioural) as they relate to each other and to the broader issue of organisational behavior (p.26).

Perhaps the most parsimonious approach is to view attitudinal and behavioural commitment as being reciprocally related. In other words, it is assumed both that commitment attitudes precipitate committing behaviours which strengthen and reinforce attitudes, and that committing behaviours assist attitudes of attachment (Mowday *et al.*, 1982). Both paradigms provide a useful theoretical and research source for the development of a model of union commitment for reasons which will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

### *Commitment and labour organisations.*

The similarities between commercial and labour organisations would suggest that a concept such as organisational commitment may be generalisable across organisational type. Research has indicated that many unions exhibit various dimensions of bureaucracy such as, (a) increasing specialisation and division of labour among senior union officers; (b) greater standardisation and specification of procedures; (c) formalisation of records, documents, written communications,



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feedback and so forth; (d) greater centralisation of decision making; and (e) an increase in vertical span and the number of hierarchical levels in the union (Lewin & Feuille, 1983; Pugh, Hickson & Turner, 1968). In terms of organisational structure, then, unions and industrial organisations have similar degrees of formalisation, standardisation, and autonomy (Anderson, 1978; Donaldson & Warner, 1974). Furthermore, except for "closed-shop" unions where membership is a condition of employment, both labour and commercial organisations depend on voluntary membership. Also, unions are concerned with those variables, such as role performance, turnover, and effectiveness, which have been associated with organisational commitment. The extent of these similarities between unions and industrial companies would suggest that research findings and theoretical speculation on the concept of organisational commitment may be relevant to union commitment.

Surveys of changes in union structure in America and Europe indicate an increase in size and concentration of trade unions (Windmuller, 1981). This trend can be seen as a response to evolving technology, the economic environment, greater business concentration, and increased costs of union administration. Development of bureaucratic structures similar to large scale commercial organisations is not the only consequence of increasing size and concentration; additional outcomes include greater diversification of member interests, decreasing cohesiveness and commitment, and loss of contact with the membership (Child, Loveridge & Warner, 1973; Edelstein & Warner, 1977). Child *et al.* (1973) describe two approaches to understanding the development of union bureaucratisation. One is Barbash's (1969) theory that union and managerial bureaucracy



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is a coping response to market expansion and the increasing complexity of collective bargaining issues. The other is that union bureaucratisation is a natural response to the increase in size of labour organisations and a manifestation of union leadership's desire to retain power (Lester, 1958; Lipset, Trow & Coleman, 1956). This approach suggests that the "iron law of oligarchy" (Michels, 1959) tends to develop inevitably in unions over time. Either way, there are a number of basic consequences of bureaucratisation on union functioning and commitment.

Although unions share many similarities with bureaucratic organisations, they retain unique properties (Strauss, 1977). It is probable that the extent to which the goals of labour organisations differ from those of their commercial counterpart affects the nature of membership commitment. Not only are unions non-profit oriented, but they rely to a large extent on a democratic ethos; power tends to flow upward rather than downward (Strauss & Warner, 1977).

Organisational democracy is a primary objective of many unions and not just a means to an end. Stein (1972) has commented that the trade union is "philosophically and traditionally a democratic institution which differs from other types of association, notably the business corporation, in the degree to which it emphasises internal democracy" (p.47). Union democracy has been defined as the extent of rank and file involvement and participation in union activities (Seidman, London, Karsh, & Tagliacozzo, 1958). Consequently, to achieve a democratic ethos and provide grass root's support to collective actions it is important that the union not only maintain a political structure

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which is accessible to control by all members, but also a level of commitment that facilitates participation.

Child *et al.* (1973) make the distinction between "administrative" and "representative" rationality in unions. A more bureaucratic structure tends to decrease the union's representative function and its internal democracy (measured by participation, closeness of elections and membership influence over union processes). Also union leadership loses contact with the needs, interests, expectations and goals of the rank and file (Anderson, 1978; Edelstein & Warner, 1977). However, bureaucratisation appears to increase the union's administrative function by improving bargaining effectiveness (Child *et al.*, 1973). Kochan (1980) highlights the problem when he notes that "one of the critical problems facing a modern trade union is the need to design a structure for maximising effectiveness in bargaining, while at the same time, maintaining internal democracy" (p.165).

In many South African emergent unions one often finds internal union pressures toward adequate and democratic representation prevent any tendencies toward centralisation. The developmental trend is toward the establishment of shop steward structures and local agreements as opposed to supporting centralised bargaining structures such as industrial councils. There has been considerable leadership opposition to the consolidation of bargaining units or the centralisation of bargaining. The emphasis amongst emergent unions on factory-level bargaining is, in many ways, incompatible with centralised control by industrial councils where (a) there is a lack of representativeness by employee organisations, (b) negotiation is removed from the shop floor

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level, (c) direct participation by union members is difficult, and (d) collective bargaining at a local union level is hampered. Nonetheless, many emergent unions are joining industrial councils for pragmatic reasons whilst maintaining plant level negotiations (Cooper, Motala, Shindler, McCaul, & Ratsowo, 1984). Thus they reflect Kochan's (1980) prescription for increasing bargaining effectiveness and at the same time maintaining union democracy.

South African unions are relatively small in comparison to overseas' labour organisations. The majority of unions (76%) have memberships of less than 5000, with the largest union (the National Union of Mineworkers) consisting of about 240 000 members (Webster, 1984). In Britain the average membership is approximately 24 000 members per union, and in West Germany 468 000 (Reese, 1983). Consequently, size is not necessarily a problem for member participation and control.

This raises the issue of union effectiveness and its definition. It is important that if the effects of environmental and structural variables on union effectiveness are to be ascertained, the latter needs to be adequately operationalised. Research has only recently utilised union effectiveness as a dependent criterion in empirical investigations on labour organisations (Anderson, 1978; Kochan, 1980). Kochan (1980), for example, has defined the concept of effectiveness as being gauged by the number of "substantive achievements in bargaining, and the correspondence of these achievements with the personal goals and priorities of members" (p.32). However, there are additional dimensions of union effectiveness that would have to be considered in any investigation of unions. These would include such

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characteristics as (a) the ability of the union to attract and maintain a membership, (b) the extent and degree of union democracy and commitment, and (c) the development of an effective union leadership and an administrative system to provide services for members and to enforce their rights. There is a tremendous potential for psychological research to further define these dimensions of effectiveness and ascertain how they are associated with other variables in the IR system.

Anderson (1978) has investigated various environmental and structural determinants of one aspect of union effectiveness, that is union democracy. He takes a behavioural approach to union democracy by defining the concept in terms of member participation and influence in union affairs. Participation by American workers in union activities has tended to be low; reported attendance at union meetings has ranged from 5% (Barbash, 1969) to 18% (Anderson, 1978). Anderson (1978) found that the level of participation was negatively influenced by the complexity of the structure of the union and the extent of bureaucratic control. Furthermore, older unions tended to exhibit lower participation levels than younger unions. This would support observations in South Africa that emergent unions manifest a high degree of democracy compared to the more established unions where decision making influence resides very much amongst the top executive.

Commitment is a crucial facet of organised labour in that it is an important variable predicting the success and effectiveness of the union to impose sanctions and consolidate its bargaining power. Kanter (1968) has referred to three types of commitment. Firstly, "continuance commitment", which is the individual's

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commitment to participate in the organisational system and remain a member. This ensures the organisation's retention of its members. Secondly, Kanter distinguishes "cohesion commitment" which refers to the individual's commitment to group solidarity and which makes the organisation more resistant to threats. Finally, she identifies "control commitment" which consists of commitment to the organisational ideology and ensures conformity to norms. The success of the political economy of unions can be said to be dependent on the extent to which they secure all three types of commitment from their members. Child *et al.* (1973) note that attachment or commitment to unions becomes an important researchable concept when confronted by deteriorating membership attendance at union meetings and elections,

the general lack of appreciation of member orientations, of the processes leading to their emergence and the way they are acted out through behaviour in the union, have been serious omissions, not just of trade union studies, but much of organisational theory in general (p.75).

Consequently, the definition of union commitment and its behavioural manifestations is an issue which deserves further research and which impinges on union democracy.

### *Toward a definition of union commitment.*

Despite the relevance to unions of commitment and the apparent generalisability of organisational commitment findings, it was only in 1980 that a serious attempt was made to formalise a definition of union commitment based on data already obtained on organisational commitment. Previous research in the 1950's, a decade referred to as the "Golden Age of research and discussion on union democracy" (Strauss, 1977, p.240), had investigated allegiance and loyalty to the union (Purcell, 1954; Stagner, 1954, 1956). However, the definitions of these concepts were



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anecdotal and subjective, focusing on commitment to labour organisations within the context of dual allegiance to both union and employing company. For instance, Purcell (1954) defined allegiance as "an attitude of favorability towards the union or general approval of (its) over-all policies" (p.49), and Stagner (1954) described the concept in more general terms as the acceptance of membership within a group and the expression of favourable feelings toward the group. A distinction needs to be made here between allegiance and commitment. Stagner notes (1954) that allegiance "has less connotation of depth and intensity" compared to commitment, but "is more intense than passive membership" (p.42). Other early research on labour organisations has tended to adopt the distinction between the reasons individuals become members of unions and the development of union loyalty. For example, Stagner (1956) sees involvement in unions as the result of feelings of frustration on the job and the perception of the union as a means for expressing aggression against management. However, the frustration-aggression hypothesis may not be important in determining commitment to the union. Early research and theory were vague concerning the concepts of union commitment and loyalty. Sayles and Strauss (1953) suggested that involvement in union activities was characteristic of

...employees who have more energy and ambition than they can expend on their jobs. Essentially discontented and anxious to get ahead, they often turn to the union when their drives are frustrated elsewhere. (pp.118-119)

Commitment to the union then was seen as the outcome of a calculative involvement with the union and a desire for (a) better economic and working conditions, (b) control over benefits, and (c) self-expression and communication with higher management (Sayles & Strauss, 1953). However, these early ref-



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erences to union allegiance, attachment and involvement did not constitute a systematic exploration and operationalisation of the concept of union commitment. Allegiance specifically was perceived as a static phenomenon with little reference to situational variables (Rosen, 1954).

More recently, attempts have been made to apply psychological models and typologies to commitment related phenomena such as union membership, willingness to participate in union activities, and membership attachment. For example, an expectancy-value model has been used to explain union support (Allen & Keaveney, 1983) and participation (Klandermans, 1984). This model would perceive commitment as being dependent on three types of perceptions; (a) the perceived valence of the outcomes of collective action, such as higher wages, fair treatment, better working conditions and quality of worklife, pickets and strikes, union dues and so forth; (b) the extent of the member's expectancy that changes in effort or his/her participation in union activities will lead to changes in union performance; and (c) the perceived instrumentality that different levels of participation will achieve valued outcomes. It would be predicted then, that the greater the positive value attached to outcomes and the greater the expectancy and instrumentality estimates associated with having a union, the greater the motivation to support or become committed to the union. Although expectancy-value theory has not been directly applied to union commitment, DeCotiis and LeLouarn (1981) have found it to be applicable to union membership and Klandermans (1984) has validated the model on willingness to participate in social movements.

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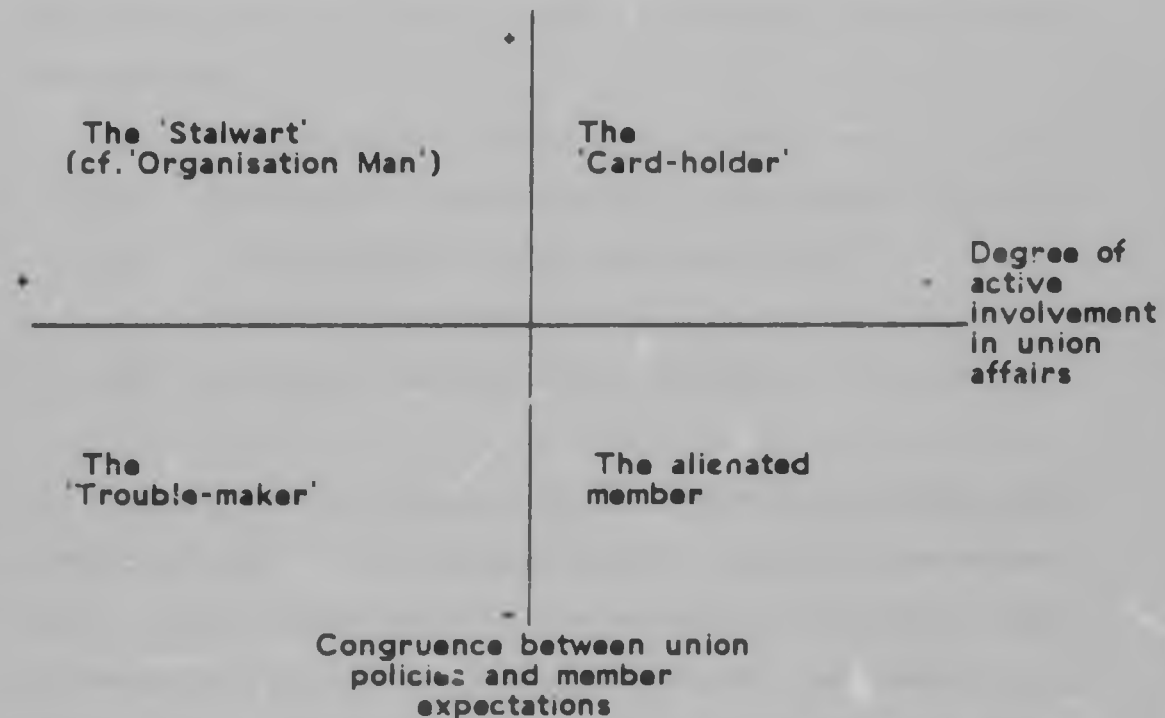
Child *et al.* (1973) have suggested a more systematic schema for understanding membership attachment to labour organisations. Their typology consists of two dimensions, (a) the extent of the member's active involvement in union affairs, and (b) the degree of congruence between member expectations and the policies of the union (See Figure 2.1). Four types of members are identified; (a) the 'alienated member', who neither identifies with the union's values nor ideology, and is typical of the 'closed shop' member who is coerced into joining the union as part of his/her employment contract; (b) the 'trouble-maker', who is highly involved in union affairs but whose objectives and ideological standpoint are incongruent with the policies of the union; (c) the 'card-holder' whose commitment is essentially instrumental and "is maintained in equilibrium by a given degree of effort on the union's part toward meeting his narrow and specific set of goals" (p.76); and finally, (d) the union 'stalwart' who is highly involved in union activities and who has accepted and incorporated the values of the union and unionism. Although Child *et al.*'s (1973) conceptualisation of attachment has heuristic value in providing an explanatory framework within which changes in commitment or attachment can be monitored and analysed, no empirical research has validated their typology. Nevertheless, the two dimensions have strong analogies with components of more recent definitions of union commitment.

In 1980, Gordon, Philpot, Burt, Thompson and Spiller constructed a criterion of commitment to the union drawing upon commitment components that had been isolated in more general research on organisational commitment. This constituted the first systematic approach to analyse the concept of union commitment. The basis

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Figure 2.1

*A typology of membership attachment.*



of their conceptual approach was that commitment was the binding of the individual to the labour organisation. Their measure of union commitment reflected many of the components identified in previous attitudinal definitions of organisational commitment (e.g. Buchanan, 1974; Porter & Smith, 1970). It also highlighted the importance of the exchange relationship (Steers, 1977) between the individual and the union. In other words, loyalty to the union was offered or given in exchange for the member's ability to satisfy valent needs in the environment of the organisation.

Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) research has subsequently precipitated only two studies attempting to establish the concurrent and

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construct validity of their criterion of union commitment (cf. Gordon, Beauvais, & Ladd, 1984; Ladd, Gordon, Beauvais & Morgan, 1982). The results of these studies suggest that the concept of union commitment consists of four major constructs which have been distilled from factor analytic processes. These four dimensions are;

- (i) an attitude of loyalty to the union
- (ii) a feeling of responsibility to the union
- (iii) a willingness to exert extra effort on behalf of the union
- (iv) a belief in the goals of the union

Union loyalty denotes a sense of pride in the union together with a perception of the instrumental benefits accruing from membership. Union loyalty reflects the exchange relationship highlighted by previous research on organisational commitment (e.g., Steers, 1977). The union member, in exchange for the satisfaction of various needs and the provision of benefits, develops attitudes of loyalty to the union. Gordon *et al.* (1980) found that Union Loyalty correlated highly with general satisfaction with the union. The items which define union loyalty indicate, to a certain degree, a "calculative involvement" (Etzioni, 1961; Kidron, 1978) in labour organisations (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd *et al.*, 1982). Individuals become attached to unions because they perceive these unions as instrumental to satisfying work-related needs. Loyalty to the union also implies a desire to retain union membership. This would support *a priori* definitions of organisational commitment which emphasise the wish to remain a member of the organisation (Porter & Smith, 1970).

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Responsibility to the union and willingness to work for the union again reflect Porter and Smith's (1970) notion of organisational commitment, whereby the individual member is prepared to exert high levels of effort on behalf of the union and to provide a service to the union. Using Katz's (1964) typology, this effort not only involves the fulfilment of dependable role behaviours, but also includes behaviour beyond prescribed roles. Responsibility to the union and willingness to exert effort have been found to correlate significantly with behavioural indices of participation in union activities. Specifically, the greater these two commitment components, the more likely the individual is to fulfil those routine responsibilities of membership that are necessary for the union to remain operative. These responsibilities include making sure that the agreement/contract that the union has with the company is upheld, ensuring that shop-stewards perform their jobs correctly, utilising the grievance procedure and so forth (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). In addition, these constructs of union commitment are associated with behavioural participation over and above required activities. This includes helping new members learn about aspects of the agreement which affect them, talking about the union with friends, promoting the values and objectives of the union, and teaching recruits how to use the grievance procedure.

Finally, belief in the values and goals of unions reflects Kanter's (1968) concept of ideological conformity and support. It also supports Porter and Smith's (1970) definition of commitment as a belief in the values and objectives of the organisation.

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These constructs of union commitment would appear generalisable across various samples of workers. Both Ladd *et al.* (1982) and Gordon *et al.* (1984) have demonstrated the validity of the dimensions of union commitment in samples of engineers, technicians and nonprofessional workers who were members of white-collar unions. This would seem to support Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) contention that union commitment is a pervasive attitude which is normally distributed throughout the labour force.

It would appear, then, that the little research which has been conducted on commitment to unions has generated a definition of union commitment which is stable, valid, generalisable and operational. This union commitment definition also reflects many of the core characteristics associated with the general concepts of organisational commitment, especially those suggested by Porter and Smith (1970). A reasonable definition of union commitment, therefore, would consist of the following adaptation of Porter and Smith's (1970) description of organisational commitment;-

- (1) a strong loyalty to the union and a desire to remain a member.
- (2) a feeling of responsibility to the union and a willingness to exert high levels of effort on behalf of the union.
- (3) a belief in and acceptance of the values and goals of both the union and organised labour.

(Adapted from Porter and Smith, 1970, p.2).

However, it is insufficient merely to outline an attitudinal definition of union commitment and to investigate the extent and level of these attitudes. It may be that the constructs of union



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commitment are stable, but the causes and consequences of union commitment vary for different segments of the labour force and for members of differing occupational status. For instance, pro-union attitudes vary with position in the organisational hierarchy and related variables such as availability of information and effective influence mechanisms (Maxey & Mohrman, 1980). Consequently it is the aim of the present thesis not only to test the stability and generalisability of the definition and constructs of union commitment on a sample of blue-collar workers, but also to identify the antecedents and outcomes of the construct across heterogeneous samples of workers. Furthermore, it is also necessary to study the structure of union commitment in non-North American countries as the factors which constitute the concept may be due to a cultural artefact.

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#### A factor analytic study on the validity of a union commitment scale.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the apparent importance of union commitment, only two follow-up studies have been undertaken to validate the constructs of commitment and test the generalisability of the union commitment measure. Ladd, Gordon, Beauvais and Morgan (1982) administered the 48-item Commitment to the Union scale to a sample of professional and non-professional union members, and Gordon, Beauvais and Ladd (1984) tested the same scale on unionised engineers. The factor structure was replicated regardless of professional status and "type" of union. These studies demonstrated the stability of the dimensions of union commitment in samples of engineers, technicians, and nonprofessional workers who were skilled members of white-collar unions.

To obtain external validity, the generalisability of the union commitment questionnaire must be replicated on blue-collar workers. Both the above studies investigated samples drawn from white-collar unions; and so extrapolation to blue-collar workers remains tenuous (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). The problem of generalisation is exacerbated, since blue-collar workers are not an homogeneous labour force. Historical, socio-cultural, and technological determinants not only effect union type, but also the characteristics of blue-collar labour.

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this chapter appear in C. Fullagar, (1986), "A factor analytic study on the validity of a union commitment scale," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71, (In press).

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The lack of homogeneity in the working class is clearly illustrated in South Africa where labour market segmentation is augmented by racism, historical experience, conflicting interests, industrial legislation and government policy. By far the greatest proportion of production and unskilled work is carried out by black workers, whereas professional, managerial, clerical and sales functions are performed primarily by whites (Fullagar, 1983; Cassim, 1982)(See Table 3.1).

Furthermore, these racial divisions are perpetuated within the blue-collar labour force. Three broad labour segments have been identified in South Africa, each associated with different skill levels, employment conditions and racial groups (Webster, 1983). Firstly, there is a skilled labour sector where most jobs are held by white workers and characterised by high wages, adequate working conditions, stable employment, job security, trade union protection and satisfactory promotional prospects. The privileges afforded to these workers have classified them as a 'labour aristocracy' and separates them from the mainstream of the working class. Secondly, a semi-skilled labour market of Coloured and Asian workers of marginal status exists. Here jobs are routinised and relatively stable. Thirdly, there is a large unskilled labour market consisting mainly of black workers, where jobs require limited skill and are repetitive, physically demanding and alienating. Wages are low, working conditions are poor, and there is a disproportionate lack of unionisation.

Given these divisions within the working class, the study of industrial relations does not simply entail the investigation of the interests, attitudes and needs of a unified labour force,

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Table 3.1

*The occupational distribution of different racial groups*

Occupational Category	Percentage of Race Group			
	African	Asian	Coloured	White
Professional and technical	23,0	3,5	10,0	63,5
Managerial and Executive	2,0	2,0	1,0	95,0
Clerical	14,7	7,5	8,3	69,4
Sales	24,4	8,8	10,6	56,0
Production Workers	69,8	4,0	12,1	14,0
Unskilled Workers	85,1	1,2	12,5	0,5

(Reproduced in F. Cassim, *Labour market segmentation in South Africa*, African Studies Institute Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 29 March, 1982.)

but the differing interests of three or more segments. As Williams (1979) points out,

..It is the confusion between working-class and ruling-class that has consistently complicated the function of industrial relations in the free enterprise system (in South Africa). Instead of dealing with a working-class interest, we deal with working-class interests, one competing against the other, almost as much in many instances as they compete against management itself (pp80-81).

The diverse interests of the various sectors of the blue-collar labour force in South Africa have expressed themselves in qualitatively different types of union which can be broadly classified using Walker and Lawler's (1979) distinction between "protective" and "aggressive" unions. These unions differ in their focus on labour problems, their methods of organisation and their militancy. Historically, white skilled workers have associated themselves with "protective" craft unions where the motivation for commitment to the union involves maintenance of

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the status, security and privilege of union members. These labour organisations are "restrictionist" (Webster, 1983), withholding membership from other racial groups to avoid job dilution and fragmentation. Black, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, on the other hand, have expressed their needs through industrial or general unions aiming to secure some form of democratic and social justice for all workers, regardless of skill. Subsidiary aims include improvement of social security, conditions of work and standards of living of their members. Many of the members of these aggressive unions believe there are problems which the black worker does not share with white workers in South Africa (e.g., Pass laws, Group Areas Act, inferior education system, and influx control laws). They can be classified as "aggressive" because membership derives from "alienated employees who are relatively deprived" (Walker & Lawler, 1979), and they are "expansionist" (Webster, 1983), relying on strength of numbers and activism to gain security and commitment. Further reasons for the different types of union structure may be that the membership of white protective unions is more job-conscious and has access to formal political structures for redress to supplement collective bargaining efforts. Conversely, black workers have no political representation in government and consequently emergent unions emphasise political as well as work-related reform. There is a growing tendency amongst these unions to incorporate the needs of the outside community. For example, many emergent unions have encouraged the establishment of shop steward committees with members from various companies and industries to deal with such community issues as poverty, discrimination, social injustices, forced removals, rent increases and so forth (Webster, 1984).

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The different types of workplace organisation then, reflect the differing needs and interests which exist within the blue-collar labour force. The present study investigates a union which was neither a craft nor an industrial or general union, seeking rather to represent both white skilled and black unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Within this framework, it becomes possible (a) to assess the generalisability of union commitment to blue-collar workers, and (b) to ascertain whether the dimensionality of the construct remains the same for different cultural segments of the labour force who are members of the same union. Thus, the aim of the first study in the present research is to develop the measurement characteristics of the Commitment to the Union Scale (Gordon *et al.*, 1980) further on a sample of blue-collar workers. Moreover, the validity of the scale is examined by evaluating (a) the relationship between the dimensions of commitment, and (b) the association between the union commitment constructs and various behavioural variables.

#### *Method*

##### *Subjects*

The union under study in the present research is South Africa's largest multi-racial trade union with a membership of 49,720 workers. It has its roots in British craft trade union history: the membership of its first branch, established in 1898, consisted of pioneer British immigrants. By 1906, the union had established eight branches, mainly on the Witwatersrand and in Durban. As early as the 1920's it was organising coloured artisan workers in the Cape, and coloured workers formed part of the union's executive, even though they were only legally accorded



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observer status in terms of State legislation. The union has continued to foster its multi-racial identity. It has made frequent public statements and called for urgent government action to remove job reservation, abolish detention without trial, halt forced removals, abandon influx control to enable workers to sell their labour on the best market, introduce a unitary education system for all people and other issues. Since the introduction of labour legislation in 1979 in South Africa enabling unions to open their ranks to all races, the union under study made concerted efforts to change its identity from a craft union to an industrial union. Consequently, it has attempted to represent the interests of all workers in the metal industry, so that the present sample consisted of both white, skilled and black, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. At present, membership consists of 14,220 black workers, 21,300 white workers, and 14,200 coloured members. At the recent General Council, held in March 1985, the union unanimously changed its constitution to ensure that all race groups comprising its membership would have equal representation on its executive committee, thereby guaranteeing that no individual group interests could dominate the others. The resolution read in full,

General Council re-affirms its commitment to a policy of multi-racialism in the affairs of the (union) which will assure:

- (i) The full and equal participation of each individual member of the (union) in its affairs.
- (ii) Non-discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or sex.
- (iii) The equal representation of the needs, interests and priorities of all groups of which our own (union) and the South African community at large are composed.
- (iv) Equal opportunity for all people in South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or sex.
- (v) Continued labour towards greater prosperity, political equality, education and a better life for all people of South Africa.

(Crucible/Smeltkroes, 1985 (May), p.14)

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The present sample consisted of black and white, male members drawn from the above union.<sup>2</sup> A covering letter from the union's General Secretary together with three questionnaires was sent to every black and white shop steward in the union throughout the country who was registered on the union's mailing list ( $N = 400$ ). The letter outlined the purpose of the study, encouraged participation, and ensured anonymity and confidentiality. Shop stewards were requested to complete the questionnaire themselves and distribute the remaining two to male rank and file members. Once completed, the questionnaires were returned in self-addressed, stamped envelopes (See Appendix A). Although the official language of the union was English, the questionnaire was also translated into Afrikaans, Southern Sotho, and Zulu so that respondents had a choice of four languages. These translations were cross-checked to ensure accuracy by having them translated back into English by a different translator.

Of the 400 shop stewards who were sent questionnaires, 116 (29%) responded. Of these 14 responses were eliminated as a result of incomplete or insufficient data. Rank and file members returned 124 (15.5%) questionnaires, of which 24 were unusable.<sup>3</sup> This left 202 usable questionnaires from 98 black and 104 white union members ( $M$  tenure = 8.7 years)(See Table 3.2).

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<sup>2</sup> The sex of the subjects was controlled for two reasons. Firstly, the union under study was predominantly male (95% Male). Secondly, sex is the only demographic variable which has been found to be associated with Commitment to the Union (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). Male union members indicate greater intent to participate in union activities.

<sup>3</sup> Sixteen subjects responded in either Sotho or Zulu. Because this was an insufficient sample to factor analyse, these responses were discarded.

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Table 3.2

*Summary of the demographic characteristics for the union sample.*

Variable	Number	Percentage
Sex		
Male	202	100%
Female	0	0%
Race		
White	104	51.5%
Black	98	48.5%
Rank		
Shop steward	104	51.5%
Rank and file	98	48.5%
Language		
English	130	64.4%
Afrikaans	72	35.6%
Length of union membership		
Less than 5 years	104	51.5%
5 - 9 years	36	17.8%
10 - 19 years	24	16.8%
20 - 41 years	28	13.9%

The response rate was understandably lower for rank and file members because distribution of the questionnaire to these subjects was dependent on the participation of the respective shop steward. This was unavoidable as the addresses of rank and file members were not available. It is reasonable to assume that those shop stewards who did not respond themselves would not have distributed the two questionnaires to rank and file members, and therefore the real response rate amongst rank and file members is higher than 12.5%.

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### *Assessment*

The questionnaire package consisted of items designed to measure commitment to the union, behavioural participation in the union, and union status.

*Commitment to the Union.* This scale consisted of the 28 items of the Commitment to the Union Scale (Ladd *et al.*, 1982) which yielded orthogonal factors consistent with the initial 48 item version (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). These 28 items replicated the original factor structure for both professional and non-professional employees and appeared to be generalisable across unions. Ladd *et al.* (1982) isolated four dimensions of commitment to the union (*viz.*, Union Loyalty, Responsibility to the Union, Willingness to Work for the Union, and Belief in Unionism) which were consistent with Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) constructs.

Interviews conducted with union officials about the relevance, applicability and clarity of the items led to the elimination of the item "Union members should pay attention to the union label". It was felt that the concept of a "union label" in the South African context was ambiguous and confusing. In its place, an item concerning victimisation by management and union commitment was substituted. This item read "If you were victimised by management for being a member of the union, would you continue to support the union?" Inclusion of this item was not only endorsed by the union executive, but previous research has also found that fear of victimisation is a primary motivation for union membership in South Africa (Webster, 1979).

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The only other alteration that was made to the scale was that the number of response alternatives was reduced from 5 (1="strongly agree", 5="strongly disagree") to 3 (3="agree", 2="unsure", 1="disagree"). The reason for this was that five-point semantic differentials have been found to be less reliable with blue-collar, black workers compared to three-point scales (Morris & van der Reis, 1980). Fourteen of the items were negatively worded statements and the scaling on these was reversed so that greater commitment to the union was reflected by higher scores on all the items.

*Behavioural Participation in the Union.* Behavioural participation in union affairs was measured by assessing how many activities supportive of the union subjects had engaged. These activities were broadly categorised into "formal" and "informal" activities. For the purpose of the present study, Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) differentiation between "recent" and "past" participation in union activities was not used as the temporal distinction was seen to be ambiguous. Moreover, there were no significant differential correlations between Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) constructs of commitment and "past" and "recent" union participation. Formal activities are those behaviours necessary for the union to operate effectively and democratically. These include participation in the last election, frequency of attendance at local union meetings, familiarity with the provisions of the Agreement that the union has with the company, and frequency of grievance filing. In addition, there were two items which assessed whether members had stood for an elected office or served on a union committee. Informal activities reflect support for the union, but are not necessary for the union's survival. These activities were derived from Gordon *et*



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al.'s (1980) 27-item checklist, and included behaviours such as helping other members file a grievance, talking about the union with friends, and reading the union's newsletters. With the exception of one question all these items described actions which enhanced union welfare or indicated informal involvement in union activities. In consultation with union officials, nine items from this checklist were discarded as being inappropriate or irrelevant to the present union's activities. A high score reflected high participation for both the formal and informal activity scales. A composite participation score was calculated by summing the scores on the formal and informal participation scales. Cronbach's alpha was calculated and the internal reliability of both the formal and informal scales was satisfactory ( $\alpha = 0.75$  &  $0.80$  respectively).

#### *Results.*

The data from the Commitment to the Union Scale were assessed using Kaiser's (1970) Measure of Sampling Adequacy (*MSA*) to ascertain whether the common factor model was appropriate. As can be seen in Table 3.3 the *MSA* for each item was relatively high. Values of 0.8 or 0.9 are considered good, while *MSA*'s below 0.5 are unacceptable.

The overall *MSA* for the scale was highly satisfactory (0.88). No item had an *MSA* below the unacceptability level 0.5. Consequently, the data from the union commitment scale were more than adequate for factor analysis.

Various factor-analytic methods were initially computed to clarify the number of factors to be extracted and which of these were robust (Harris, 1967). These methods included principal



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Table 3.3

*Kaiser's measure of sampling adequacy.*

Item	MSA	Item	MSA	Item	MSA	Item	MSA
1	0.74	8	0.86	15	0.88	22	0.88
2	0.87	9	0.90	16	0.91	23	0.90
3	0.88	10	0.89	17	0.93	24	0.92
4	0.83	11	0.91	18	0.93	25	0.89
5	0.85	12	0.87	19	0.90	26	0.68
6	0.79	13	0.91	20	0.76	27	0.89
7	0.91	14	0.88	21	0.70	28	0.90

OVERALL MSA = 0.88

components, the minres method (iterated principal factor analysis with squared multiple correlations as initial communality estimates), the maximum-likelihood method, and alpha analysis. Most of the factor extraction criteria associated with these methods suggested the extraction of seven factors as the minimum number of common factors that would satisfactorily produce the correlations among the observed variables. These criteria included the minimum eigenvalue measure, the Scree Test, and Akaike's Information Criterion (1974)(See Table 3.4).

However, using Harris' (1967) definition of a robust factor as one which consistently has two or more items with loadings of 0.3 or higher, regardless of the factor analytic method, five "robust" factors emerged which loaded consistently across the above methods. Furthermore, close scrutiny of the Scree plot

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Table 3.4

*Factor analytic methods and criterion for factor extraction.*

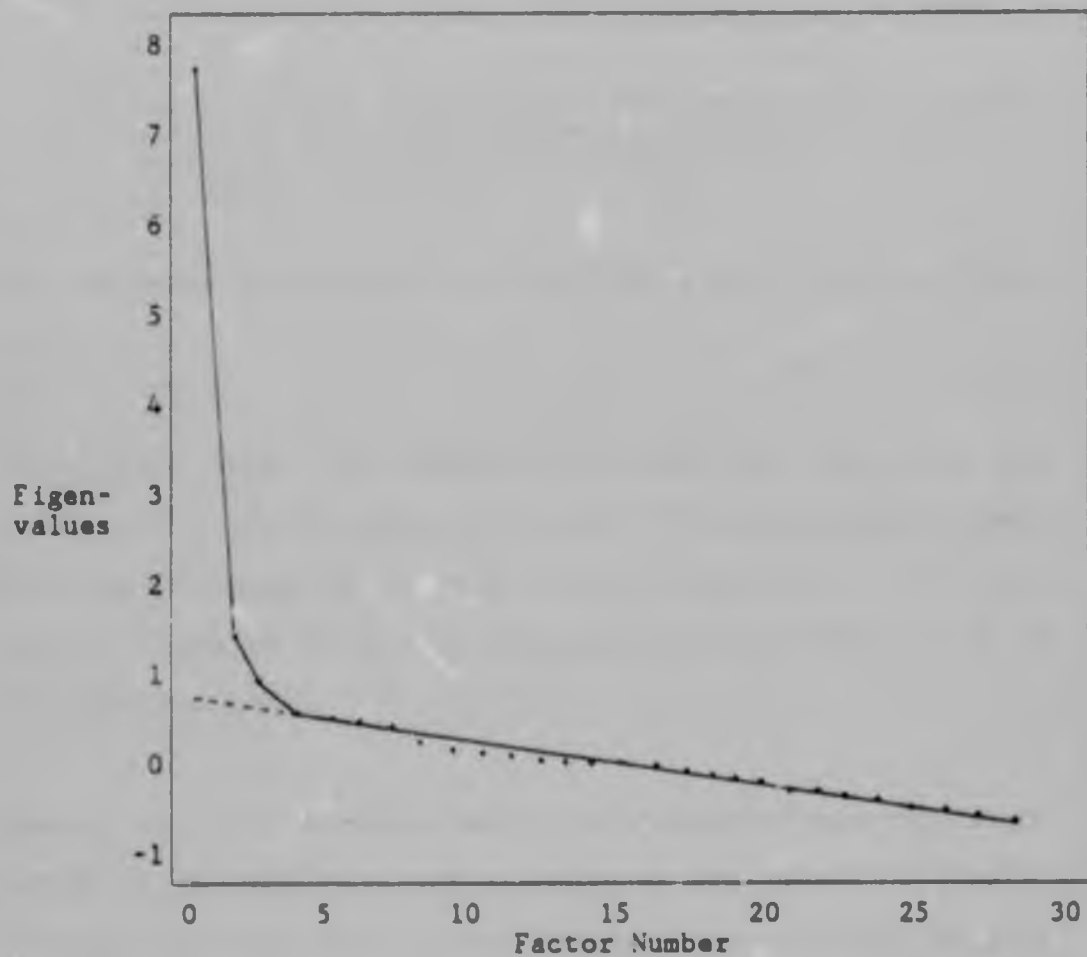
Factor analytic	Extraction Criterion	Number of factors extracted
Principle Components Analysis	Minimum Eigenvalue greater than unity	7
Alpha Factor Analysis	Proportion Criterion	7
Iterated Principle Factor Analysis	Proportion Criterion	7
Unweighted Least Squares Method	Proportion Criterion	7
Maximum Likelihood Method	Scree Test	5
"	Harris' Chi-squared Criterion	7
"	Akaike's Information Criterion	7
"	Schwarz's Bayesian Criterion	2
All Methods	Harris' Stable Factor Criterion	4

of eigenvalues (See Figure 3.1) reveals that the characteristic roots begin to level off forming a straight line with an almost horizontal slope after five factors (Cattell, 1965). These results would appear to support Harris (1967) in concluding that for the purposes of the present study not more than five factors should be extracted.

Nevertheless, a more liberal factoring procedure was adopted (cf. Gorsuch, 1974) and seven factors were rotated. However, considering Harris' criterion and psychological interpretability (results showed that Factor 6 was a "doublet" and Factor 7 had

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Figure 3.1  
*The Scree test.*



only one item loading on it), only five factors were eventually considered.

Following Gordon *et al.* (1980), a minimum residual solution with varimax rotation was finally utilised. Not only is this one of the most widely accepted forms of analysis (Kim & Mueller, 1978), but the final solution satisfied Thurstone's (1947) principles of simple structure. These are as follows,

- (1) Each row of the factor matrix should have at least one zero
- (2) If there are  $m$  common factors, each column of the factor matrix should have at least  $m$  zeros

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- (3) For every pair of columns of the factor matrix there should be several variables whose entries vanish in one column but not in the other
- (4) For every pair of columns of the factor matrix, a large proportion of variables should have vanishing entries in both columns when there are four or more factors
- (5) For every pair of columns of the factor matrix, there should only be a small number of variables with non-vanishing entries in both columns.  
(p. 335)

The resultant loadings for the seven factors are shown in Table 3.5.

Only those items with communalities greater than 0.20 and loadings of 0.35 or higher are included. The percentage of common variance accounted for by each of the rotated factors is shown at the bottom of Table 3.5. These factors accounted for 60% of the total variance.

Comparison statistics could not be calculated between the factor matrix of the present study and that of Ladd *et al.*'s (1982). Although the factor extraction procedures were similar, scaling procedures on the original data differed and the present study altered one item to make it relevant to the sample. Consequently, any dissimilarity between factor matrices could be attributed plausibly to method variance rather than differences in interdependencies. Judgements regarding the similarities between factors in the present study and previous studies were based on observations of the type and loading of items in the questionnaire.

The first factor accounted for 23% of the common variance and bore a strong resemblance to Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) 'Union Loy-

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Table 3.5

## Factor Structure of the Commitment to the Union Scale

COMMITMENT ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS							2 h
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10. I tell my friends that the union is a great organization to be a member of	.71							.64
11. There's a lot to be gained by joining the union	.59							.65
27. I feel a sense of pride being part of this union	.59							.60
7. I am willing to put a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected of a member in order to make the union successful	.50							.47
28. If you were victimized by management for being a member of the union, would you continue to support the union	.47							.51
24. The record of the union is a good example of what dedicated people can get done	.45			.42				.63
8.* I could just as well work in a nonunion company as long as the type of work was similar	.42			.47				.46
16. Deciding to join the union was a good move on my part	.37							.38
6. It is every member's duty to support or help another worker use the grievance procedure		.66						.47
2. It is the duty of every worker to "keep his ears open" for information that might be useful to the union		.46						.33
15.* I intend to improve my relations with management by NOT being active in the union		.45		.41				.57
1. It is every union member's responsibility to see to it that management "lives up to" all the terms of the agreement		.39						.20
3.* Moving ahead in the company is more important than staying in the union				.54				.36
22.* My loyalty is to my work, not to the union	.38			.53				.52
5.* As long as I am doing the kind of work I enjoy, it does not matter if belong to this union				.48				.38
9.* I have little confidence and trust in most officers of the union				.57				.53
12.* The CRUCILAE/SMELTBORES (union journal) is not worth reading				.38				.35
14.* The union member does not get enough benefits for the money taken by the union for dues					.67			.55
19.* The union newsletter does not contain any useful information					.48			.49
17.* My values and the union's are not very similar					.46			.50
25.* Very little that the membership wants has any real importance to the union					.37			.39
18. If asked I would serve on a committee for the union						.71		.64
20. If asked I would run for an elected office in the union						.64		.52
21.* The only reason I belong to the union is to make sure I get promotions							.81	.70
EIGENVALUES	2.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.2	
% COMMON VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR	23%	15%	14%	14%	14%	11%	9%	
% TOTAL VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR	29%	17%	7%	6%	5%	3%	3%	

\* These were negatively worded items and scoring on these was reversed.



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alty' factor. Pride in the union was the dominant dimension (items 7, 10, 22, 24, 27, and 28). However, perceptions of the instrumental function of the union were not as strongly highlighted as in the previous studies: Unlike Gordon *et al.* (1980), this dimension appeared predominantly as a separate factor (Factor 5 below). Nevertheless, because of the similarities in structure and loading with Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) and Ladd *et al.*'s (1982) initial factor, it was decided to label this factor *Union Loyalty*.

*Responsibility to the Union* emerged as the second factor, accounting for 15% of the common variance and was almost identical to Ladd *et al.*'s (1982) similar dimension. Three of the four items were the same as those constituting the second factor in both previous studies (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd *et al.*, 1982). These items (1,2,6,15) reflected a responsibility and duty by union members with respect to the utilisation of union procedures (e.g., grievance procedure) and in maintaining union solidarity and the relationship between the union and management.

The third factor uncovered a dimension reflecting loyalty to the employing organisation and work. The items loading on this factor (3,5,22) revealed an underlying belief that work is instrumental to the achievement of personal goals. Likewise, advancement in the organisation is perceived as more important than union membership. Consequently this factor was labelled *Organisation/Work Loyalty*, explaining 14% of the common variance.

Factor 4 appeared to reveal a belief in the worth of the union. It again accounted for 14% of the common variance, consisting



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mainly of negatively-phrased statements which questioned the degree of identification with the goals of the union. For instance, this dimension assessed the extent of trust and confidence in the union and the belief in the value of continued union involvement. Consequently it was decided to label this factor *Belief in the Union*.

Finally, the fifth factor ascertained the extent to which members perceived the union as being instrumental to the achievement of worthwhile goals and benefits. Four items loaded on this factor (items 14, 17, 19, 25), also accounting for 14% of the common variance. This factor was called *Perceived Union Instrumentality*.

Four items had multiple loadings on more than one factor. To ascertain whether these multiple loadings effected the factor interpretations, simplified indices were constructed which omitted those items whose primary and secondary loadings differed by more than 0.05 (cf. Gordon *et al.*, 1980, p.487). The simplified factor subscales were calculated as below:-

1. Union Loyalty =  $i_7 + i_8 + i_{10} + i_{11} + i_{16} + i_{22} + i_{27} + i_{28}$
2. Responsibility to the Union =  $i_1 + i_2 + i_6$
3. Organisation/Work Loyalty =  $i_3 + i_5 + i_{22}$
4. Belief in Unionism =  $i_9 + i_{12} + i_{13} + i_{17}$
5. Union Instrumentality =  $i_{14} + i_{17} + i_{19} + i_{25}$

These factor subscales were then correlated with the corresponding factor scores using pearson correlation coefficients. The factor scores in this instance were calculated using regression estimates (Kim & Mueller, 1978). The correlations between the factor scores and the simplified factor scales were high ( $M.r = 0.84$ , range =  $0.74 - 0.88$ )(See Table 3.6).

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Consequently, factor scores were used in the subsequent statistical analyses. The internal reliability of each factor subscale was calculated using Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient. The factors exhibited satisfactory reliability ( $M \alpha = 0.75$ , range = 0.70 - 0.86). Correlations between factor scores were also computed to ensure that the orthogonality of the underlying factors was maintained in the factor scores. There were no significant correlations between the five factor scores (all  $r < 0.17$ ,  $p > 0.01$ ).

To assess whether there was factor invariance across race (black and white) and language (English and Afrikaans) groups, union commitment data from each group was factor analysed separately using the same minimum residual solution with varimax rotation. The rotated factor solutions were then compared with respect to the magnitude and pattern of loadings. Two comparison statistics were used. Firstly, the coefficient of congruence ( $CC$ ) (Wrigley & Neuhaus, 1955) was calculated. This measure is sensitive to both magnitude and pattern differences. Possible values range from -1 (a perfect reflection) to +1 (a perfect fit), although the  $CC$  is not a correlation coefficient since the loadings in the respective factor matrices are not standardised. As high coefficients of congruence are found whenever two factors have many variables with the same algebraic sign (Levine, 1977), an alternative comparison statistic was also calculated. This was the root mean square ( $RMS$ ) measure (Harman, 1976), a more conservative comparison since small deviations in either the magnitude or the pattern of the loadings are detected (Levine, 1977). The  $RMS$  ranges from zero, denoting a perfect

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Table 3.6

*Pearson correlations between factor scores and simplified factor scales.*

Factor Scores	Simplified Factor Scales				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	0.85*				
2		0.86*			
3			0.87*		
4				0.74*	
5					0.84*

\*  $p < 0,001$

pattern-magnitude match, to a maximum of two, indicating a perfect reflection between factors. The *CC* and *RMS* measures between the factors for black and white and English and Afrikaans groups are presented in Tables 3.7 and 3.8.

The levels of fit between factors for black and white blue-collar workers were high for both measures (*CC*: *M* rating = 0.82, range = 0.80 - 0.87; *RMS*: *M* rating = 0.18, range = 0.15 - 0.22). Because the sampling distributions of both the *CC* and the *RMS* are not known, it is not possible to calculate tests of significance for the matches.

Further analysis, using t-tests, was conducted to assess whether there were significant differences between the two cultural and language segments of workers on the five dimensions of the factor analysis and a composite index of union commitment which was calculated by summing the factor scores for all five factors. The results of these t-tests are presented in Tables 3.9 and 3.10.

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Table 3.7

*Comparison statistics for the black (n = 98) and white (n = 104) samples.*

Factor	Comparison Statistic	
	Coefficient of Congruence	Root Mean Square
Union Loyalty	0.87	0.17
Responsibility to the union	0.80	0.22
Organisational/Work Loyalty	0.80	0.18
Belief in the Union	0.82	0.15
Union Instrumentality	0.82	0.18

Table 3.8

*Comparison statistics for the English (n = 130) and Afrikaans (n = 72) samples.*

Factor	Comparison Statistic	
	Coefficient of Congruence	Root Mean Square
Union Loyalty	0.83	0.17
Responsibility to the union	0.76	0.22
Organisational/Work Loyalty	0.62	0.28
Belief in the Union	0.52	0.26
Union Instrumentality	0.58	0.23

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Table 3.9

*T-tests between black and white union members on union commitment and factor scores.*

Factor	Mean (Factor Scores)		T values	Two-tailed Probability >  T
	Black Members	White Members		
Union Loyalty	0.05	-0.05	-0.83	0.41
Responsibility to the union	-0.18	0.17	3.08	0.00
Organisation/Work Loyalty	-0.04	0.04	0.68	0.50
Belief in the Union	0.01	-0.01	-0.09	0.93
Union Instrumentality	0.02	-0.02	-0.41	0.68
Overall Commitment	-0.14	0.13	0.88	0.38

As can be seen, there were no significant differences between black and white members on overall commitment to the union and on all but one commitment dimension. White union members expressed a greater Responsibility to the Union than their black counterparts ( $t(200) = 3.07, p < 0.01$ ).

From Table 3.10 it can be seen that there were no significant differences on all commitment dimensions between English and Afrikaans speaking respondents. These results would justify amalgamating the different subgroups into one factor solution.

Finally, the validity of the Commitment to the Union scale for a blue-collar sample was evaluated, by correlating the factor and overall commitment scores of the total sample with the informal and formal measures of behavioural involvement in union activities as well as with length of union membership. These relationships are presented in Table 3.11.

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Table 3.10

*T-tests between English and Afrikaans responses on union commitment and factor scores.*

Factor	Mean (Factor Scores)		T values	Two-tailed Probability >  T
	English	Afrikaans		
Union Loyalty	-0.03	0.03	-0.45	0.65
Responsibility to the union	-0.01	0.02	-0.09	0.92
Organisation/Work Loyalty	-0.02	0.02	-0.34	0.74
Belief in the Union	-0.03	0.03	-0.50	0.62
Union Instrumentality	0.04	-0.04	0.65	0.52
Overall Commitment	-0.18	0.20	-1.26	0.21

Greater union commitment was significantly correlated with involvement in union affairs, indicating satisfactory concurrent validity. An alternative explanation is that these results are a function of response bias or an auto-correlational effect. For this to be so one would expect uniform low but significant correlations between all the commitment and participation variables. However, this was not the case. Union responsibility and informal participation were not correlated ( $r(195) = 0.05$ ,  $p > 0.01$ ). As a result the possibility that the relationship between union commitment and behavioural participation is due to response bias or auto correlations is minimised. Furthermore, the use of both negatively and positively phrased items in the questionnaire was a precaution taken to reduce the effects of response bias.



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Table 3. 11

Correlations Between the Five Factor Scores, Overall Union Commitment,  
and Length of Union Membership, Formal, Informal and Overall Union Participation<sup>a,b</sup>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Union Loyalty	1.00									
2. Responsibility to the Union <sup>c</sup>	.17	1.00								
3. Organization/Work Loyalty	-.02	-.04	1.00							
4. Belief in the Union	.12	.06	-.13	1.00						
5. Union Instrumentality	.10	.06	-.09	.10	1.00					
6. Overall Commitment to the Union	.55**	.51**	-.50**	.54**	.51**	1.00				
7. Length of Union Membership	.06	.18*	-.08	.07	.04	.09	1.00			
8. Formal Participation	.28**	.21*	-.33**	.36**	.20*	.52**	.11	1.00		
9. Informal Participation	.28**	.05	-.25**	.23**	.25**	.40**	.04	.60**	1.00	
10. Overall Participation	.31**	.13	-.32**	.33**	.25**	.51**	.08	.86**	.92**	1.00

<sup>a</sup>

Due to the large sample size only the 1% significance level was considered to avoid statistically significant though conceptually trivial associations.

<sup>b</sup>

For variables 1 - 7,  $n = 202$ , for variables 8 and 10,  $n = 194$ , while  $n = 196$  for variable 9.

<sup>c</sup>

For conceptual clarity and because all items with significant loadings on Factor 3 were negatively worded statements, the scoring on these items was reversed for Table 2.

\*  $p \leq 0.01$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$

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In order to further assess whether response bias or autocorrelations were an alternative interpretation to the present results, and to further test the validity of the participation scale, an additional study was conducted on a group of 24 shop stewards (11 black and 13 white stewards) who were attending a training program with the union. The identical questionnaire was administered with the exception that responses were not anonymous. Union branch managers and/or area organisers were then asked to independently assess the shop stewards on the same formal participation measures as were used in the original questionnaire (i.e., whether the individual voted at the last union election, frequency of attendance at union meetings, knowledge of the agreement, and whether he had run for an elected office or served on a committee. Furthermore, frequency and consistency of grievance filing behaviour was checked against company records where they existed ( $n = 19$ ). The correlations between these independent measures and the subjects' self-reports were high (mean  $r = 0.76$ , range = 0.64 - 0.89). The Pearson correlation between overall self-reported, formal participation and overall formal participation as noted by area organisers or company records was good ( $r = 0.93$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). It was impossible to obtain similar independent, "objective" measures for informal participative behaviours (e.g., whether the individual reads the union's news bulletins, discusses the advantages of the union with nonunion friends, reads newspaper articles about the union and so forth). The questionnaire was readministered to the same sample ( $n = 24$ ) six weeks later during a follow-up course to ascertain the test-retest reliability of the union commitment scale. Because of the sample size, simplified factor scales were constructed as well as an overall com-

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mitment score. The test-retest reliability of these scales was found to be high (mean  $r = 0.81$ , range = 0.65 - 0.88).

Known-group validity was calculated by assessing the differences in union commitment between shop-stewards and rank and file members on the assumption that shop-stewardship implies more intense union involvement (See Table 3.12). Union stewards scored significantly higher on overall Commitment to the Union ( $t(200) = 2.93$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ); Belief in the Union ( $t(200) = 2.71$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ); and Union Instrumentality ( $t(200) = 2.13$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) compared to their rank and file counterparts.

#### *Discussion*

The present study investigated the dimensionality of the commitment of a sample of blue-collar metal workers to their union. Before discussing the results, it is necessary to discuss the limitations of the research in terms of sampling. Even though response rates between 10% and 30% are common (Etzel & Walker, 1974) and all union shop stewards were sent questionnaires, the response rate does warrant caution with respect to the generalisability of results to other blue-collar workers. In addition, because of the difficulties of access to unionised plants, administration procedures were the responsibility of shop stewards and consequently lacked the control which would ensure that the data was representative of rank and file commitment. As in Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) study, it may be that only committed members responded to the survey, although there was substantial variance in the responses.

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Table 3.12

*T-tests between shop-stewards and rank and file members on union commitment and factor scores.*

Factor	Mean (Factor Scores)		T values	Two-tailed Probability >  T
	Shop Stewards	Rank and File		
Union Loyalty	0.10	-0.11	1.79	0.08
Responsibility to the union	-0.03	0.03	-0.54	0.59
Organisation/ Work Loyalty	0.09	-0.09	1.58	0.12
Belief in the Union	0.14	-0.15	-2.73	0.01
Union Instrumentality	0.12	-0.12	2.13	0.03
Overall Commitment	0.42	-0.45	2.95	0.00

Five constructs were isolated. Although statistical comparisons between the factor structure of union commitment in the present study and its structure in previous studies could not be made due to scaling differences, similarities in the type and loading of items were found with respect to the first two factors extracted. As in earlier research (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd *et al.*, 1982) the most prominent characteristic of union commitment was found to be loyalty to the union. Loyal respondents expressed a pride in the union, felt that the union was a "great organisation," and respected the record of the union. Union loyalty also indicated a willingness to apply effort over and above that usually expected of the union member. Certain items loading on this factor indicated a calculative interest in the union (e.g., there was a lot to be gained by joining the union, and joining the union was "a good move"). However, the present factor had less of a calculative flavour than that of previous

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studies, in that members' instrumental beliefs in the union as a benefit organisation were mainly separated out and concentrated in the fifth factor. Union instrumentality in the present research reflected a utilitarian belief that the union (a) provided its members with the benefits they expected, (b) was a disseminator of information useful to the worker, and (c) was concerned with satisfying the interests and needs of its constituents.

The second factor bore a strong resemblance to earlier studies' "Responsibility to the Union" dimension. This factor was again defined in terms of the individual's propensity to ensure that the union remained an effective organisation by members assuming such essential responsibilities as the utilisation of the grievance procedure and making certain that management uphold the agreement negotiated by the union.

The third construct derived from the present data was labelled "Organisation/Work Loyalty" and its orthogonality suggests that it is independent of the other dimensions of commitment to the union. The idea embodied in this factor was that loyalty to work rather than the union was perceived as being instrumental to individual success. This Organisation/Work Loyalty factor was not identified in the previous studies on union commitment and it highlights the controversial issue of dual allegiance to both employing organisation and union. The present results suggest that amongst blue-collar workers dual allegiance to both employer and union is not inevitable (Purcell, 1960; Stagner, 1956). Results indicated that high Organisation/Work Loyalty scores correlated negatively with both formal and informal participation in union activities. Martin (1981) has suggested that



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dual allegiance is a phenomenon most likely to be associated with "protective" as opposed to "aggressive" unionism. Although the union under investigation had a history of protective unionism, recently it had adopted a more aggressive identity to attract a broader membership (Webster, 1983). Also union members were drawn from a blue-collar labour force and, therefore, may be more alienated from the process of work (Bosquet, 1977). At the lower levels of the organisational hierarchy there is less opportunity for work and organisational involvement (Barling, 1983).

Belief in Unionism differed from Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) dimension in that it did not seem to reflect a belief in the concept of unionism in general, but a belief in one's own union. The items defining this factor disclosed a trust and confidence in the union's officers, a belief in the value of the union newsletter, and a respect for the achievements of the union. It was for these reasons that it was labelled "Belief in the Union."

All five constructs of commitment and the overall measure of commitment to the union exhibited concurrent validity in that they correlated significantly and predictably with both participation in formal and necessary union activities, and informal peripheral activities. It must be noted, however, that these findings provide only correlative information and give no indication of the causal direction. For example, it is quite conceivable just in terms of cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), that commitment to the union is an outcome rather than a cause of participation in union activities. However, known-group validity was confirmed in the result that more intense union commitment was found in higher status members (i.e., shop stewards).



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In looking at differences between the two cultural segments of the sample, the only significant difference between black and white union members was in the area of Responsibility to the Union. This is most probably explained by the significant association between union responsibility and tenure. Responsibility to the Union was the only dimension of commitment to correlate with length of union membership. Black members in the present sample had an average length of membership of 3.3 years, whereas whites had, on average, been with the union for 13.8 years ( $t(200) = 9.71, p < 0.001$ ): Until 1979 black workers were excluded from the definition of "employee" in South African industrial relations legislation and were not permitted to join or form registered trade unions. The present union, however, succeeded in obtaining governmental consent to register black members in 1979. Nevertheless, the training of black shop stewards concerning the functions, duties and responsibilities of the union member was only established formally in 1982 with the institution of a training unit within the union. It is probable then, that differences with respect to experience with unionisation led to differences in responsibility levels. This is supported by the finding that Responsibility to the Union correlated with length of union membership for the white sample ( $r(102) = 0.43, p < 0.01$ ), but not for black members ( $r(96) = 0.09, p > 0.01$ ). These correlations were significantly different ( $z = 2.96, p < 0.01$ ). These differences were also reflected in the lower levels of both formal ( $t(192) = -2.77, p < 0.01$ ) and informal ( $t(194) = 3.67, p < 0.01$ ) participation amongst black union members.

However, for overall Commitment, Union Loyalty, Organisation/Work Loyalty, Belief in Unionism and Union Instrumentality, no

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differences existed between black and white workers. This supports Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) contention that union commitment is normally distributed throughout the labour force and is a pervasive attitude regardless of race. It is insufficient though, merely to investigate the extent and/or level of union attitudes. It may be that the different needs of various segments of the labour force are reflected in the causes of these attitudes. For example, union commitment and the process of unionisation can be regarded as related but not synonymous concepts. Union commitment is a far more continuous measure of unionisation or union involvement than such nominal measures of unionisation as membership, voting intentions and voting behaviour. Explanations concerning the reasons for unionisation have varied. Much research has demonstrated the importance of economic work factors on union membership and voting behaviour.

Dissatisfaction with extrinsic rewards offered by the job, wages, and degree of job security, have been found to correlate with union voting behaviour and reasons for joining unions (Gordon & Long, 1981; Schriesheim, 1978). These results would appear to suggest that "bread and butter" issues (e.g., pay and working conditions) are the most important reasons for unionism. However, other studies (e.g., Bigoness, 1978; Hammer & Berman, 1981) suggest that issues such as work content and desire for more influence might be important variables when considering unionism. Hammer and Berman (1981) have shown that non-economic factors such as distrust in the formal processes of decision making and powerlessness are important for union support. Similarly, commitment could be engendered either by "protective" motivations for greater job security and prevention of job dilution, or by "aggressive" needs in response to lack of power,

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desire for participation and general alienation. In brief, the reasons for commitment to the union may differ for various segments of the rank and file even though the actual levels of the various dimensions of commitment do not. Consequently, there is a need to ascertain what the causes of union commitment are and whether these are similar throughout the work-force and across different types of unions. Future research must steer away from an over-reliance on cross-sectional designs which illuminate associational rather than causal analyses and concentrate on longitudinal approaches which enable a process model of union commitment to be developed.

## CHAPTER 4

### Antecedents and outcomes of union commitment.

Several procedures are increasingly being designed and utilised to evaluate causal inferences between naturally occurring events (e.g., Duncan, 1975; Heise, 1975; Cook & Campbell, 1979; Kenny, 1979; Werts & Linn, 1970; Rogosa, 1980). These procedures have been termed "confirmatory" analyses (James, Mulaik & Brett, 1982) in that their purpose is to test the validity of causal hypotheses by ascertaining the "goodness of fit" between a theoretically justified model and empirical data. In other words a theoretical model is confirmed if it is found to have a good fit with the data collected by the researcher. James *et al.* (1982) have reiterated the importance of these analytical techniques in expanding the repertoire of psychological research methods.

The major statistical procedure to be used in the present study is path analysis. Billings and Wroten (1978) define path analysis as a "technique that uses ordinary least squares regression to help the researcher test the consequences of proposed causal relationships among a set of variables" (p.677). Path analysis is a technique which was developed by Sewall Wright (1934) as a method...

...not intended to accomplish the impossible task of deducing causal relations from the values of the correlation coefficients. It is intended to combine the quantitative information given by the correlations with such qualitative information as may be at hand on causal relations to give a quantitative interpretation. (p.193)

Path analysis, therefore, is an important analytic tool for theory testing. However, in order for it to be validly applied, the relations between variables within the proposed model have to be theoretically justified.

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In this chapter, a proposed model of union commitment will be outlined detailing the antecedents and outcomes of commitment to labour organisations. Before specifying this model of union commitment, a cautionary note of warning is necessary. The processes of commitment described below are hypothetical and derived from theoretical considerations based on correlational data obtained mainly from static cross-sectional research. This research can be categorised into three areas of investigation:

- (i) research undertaken to establish the correlates of various nominal measures of involvement in unions, such as membership, voting intention, voting behaviour, and attitudes;
- (ii) studies which have investigated the antecedents and outcomes of organisational commitment;
- (iii) the research which has been conducted to find the correlates of commitment to the union.

These studies are characterised by several shortcomings. Firstly, most of them have been undertaken on American unions and so the generalisability of their conclusions to unions in other countries is questionable. Most social theorists perceive American unions as following a "business unionism" philosophy (Kochan, 1980); they are primarily concerned with satisfying the short-term economic and job-related needs of their members, rather than concentrating on long-term socio-political issues. This may be because of a work ethic which is "job" rather than "class" oriented. Secondly, research in this area has been simplistic, bivariate in nature, often using scales which are invalid and unreliable, and reliant on statistical analyses from which causal inferences are not possible. Given the complexities of the area of industrial relations, multivariate analysis is essential.

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One possible basis for the development of a model of union commitment is the research on commitment to commercial organisations. Steers (1977) has developed a model of company/organisational commitment which identifies three categories of antecedent variables and various outcomes of commitment. These antecedent categories include personal characteristics, work/organisational experiences, and job characteristics (See Figure 4.1).

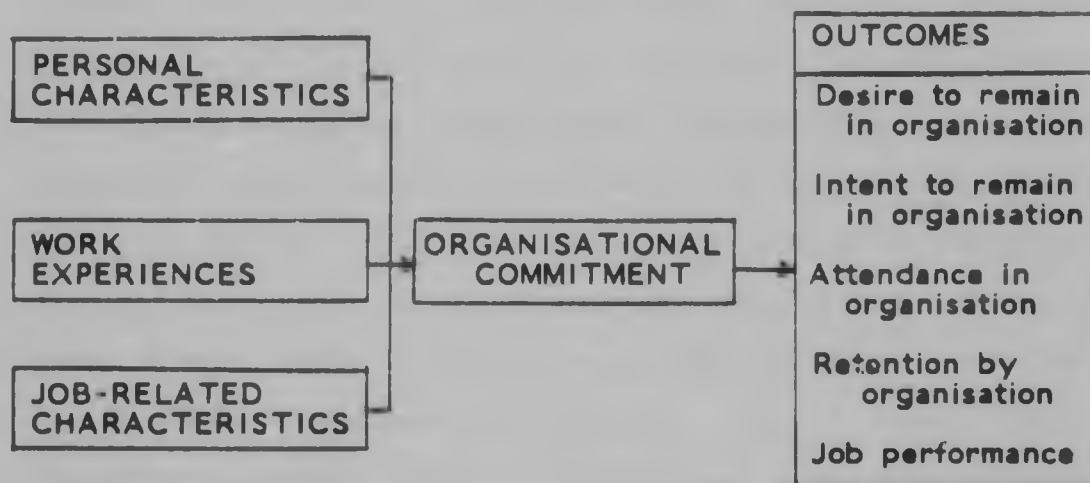


Figure 4.1: *Antecedents and outcomes of organisational commitment* (Adapted from Steers, 1977, p.47)

Using this model as a foundation, and drawing on the findings of union and commitment research, a speculative model of union commitment is suggested. Consequently, it is the aim of the present chapter to theoretically develop a model of union commitment and specify the causal ordering of the variables in the structural model. In Chapter 5 facets of this model will be empirically investigated, and the direction and nature of the relationships between certain variables in the model will be verified using a longitudinal design and path analysis. This will provide empirical confirmation about the functional equations and the fit between the theoretical model and the data.



*The Antecedents of Union Commitment.*

The rationalisation for the inclusion of various antecedent variables will now be discussed using the general framework provided by Steers' model of organisational commitment depicted in Figure 4.1.

*Personal Characteristics.* Numerous studies have found personal characteristics to be related to commitment to organisations. Most evidence suggests organisational commitment is positively related to age and tenure (Angle & Perry, 1981; Hrebiniak, 1974; Morris & Sherman, 1981), and inversely related to education (Angle & Perry, 1981; Morris & Sherman, 1981; Morris & Steers, 1980; Steers, 1977). Moreover, males exhibit higher levels of organisational commitment than females (Angle & Perry, 1981; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1972). In addition, a few studies have showed positive correlational relationships between organisational commitment and such personal attitudes and motivations as work ethic (Buchanan, 1974; Kidron, 1978; Rabinowitz & Hall, 1977), work orientated central life interest (Dubin, Champoux, & Porter, 1975), and achievement motivation and higher order need strength (Morris & Sherman, 1981; Steers & Spencer, 1977). It would appear, then, that personal characteristics must be accounted for in the development of a model of union commitment.

Various studies have attempted to relate the demographic characteristics of members with several measures of unionisation including membership, voting intention, voting behaviour and

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attitudes to unions. Variables such as sex, age, tenure, number of dependants, occupational level, income, and urbanisation are associated with these indices of unionisation (Bigoness, 1978; Blinder, 1972; Getman, Goldberg, & Herman, 1976; Kochan, 1978; Uphoff & Dunnette, 1956). However these associations tend to be weak and inconsistent. Rather, most evidence suggests that there is little support for the idea of a "union type" (Gordon *et al.*, 1980).

The little research that has been conducted on union commitment has found no significant correlations with job grade, tenure, marital status, race, and number of children (Gordon *et al.*, 1980, 1984). The only demographic variable that is associated with union commitment is member's sex (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). Males participate more in union activities. This corroborates the findings of research on organisational commitment. This phenomenon is not due to gender *per se*, but rather diverse variables including the greater experience of sex-role conflict amongst working women (Chusmir, 1982). Family commitments may interfere with full participation in union affairs for women, who experience greater levels and forms (simultaneous rather than sequential) of interrole conflict than their male counterparts (Hall, 1972). However, Gordon *et al.* (1980) also found that female members' expression of union loyalty was more positive than male workers which would indicate that lack of active participation in the union does not preclude strong feelings of attachment to the organisation. Again, this finding highlights the distinction between attitudinal and behavioural commitment and the possibility that each may have different causes, correlates and consequences. In the present study the possibility of

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a sex effect was controlled for by investigating male union members only.

Generally, demographic characteristics have not been found to predispose workers to support unionisation. The only demographic characteristic found to be related to unionisation is race. Black workers have been shown to be more willing to join unions than are unorganised white workers (Kochan, 1980). This finding can be explained by Buchholz (1978b) who found that black workers had stronger perceptions of oppression and discrimination, less opportunity to obtain alternative employment, and diminished opportunities for the expression of higher order needs. The discrepancy, therefore, is not because of race, but racist practices and attitudes which still prevail in American industry. For the same reasons, one would expect there to be a greater desire for collective action amongst black workers in South Africa. However, studies on union commitment have found that commitment is a stable construct across not only professional, non-professional and technical categories of workers (Gordon *et al.*, 1984), but also across black and white skilled, semi skilled and unskilled workers (Fullagar, 1986; see Chapter 3).

Nevertheless, although the level of commitment attitudes (except for Responsibility to the Union) was found not to significantly differ across black and white samples of South African blue-collar workers, it is hypothesised that the different needs of a divided labour force (such as the one that exists in South Africa) will be reflected in differing causes of commitment.

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The racial fractionalisation of the working class in South Africa has gained considerable prominence in the sociological literature (cf. Wolpe, 1976).

The structured differentiation of the working class in South Africa in black and white fractions is based, primarily, firstly, upon the fact that, broadly speaking, skilled jobs are the monopoly of white workers and unskilled and semi-skilled jobs the preserve of African workers; and, secondly, upon an extreme polarisation of wages, with white workers clustered at the top levels and African workers at the bottom levels of the wage structure. What distinguishes South Africa from other capitalist social formations, in this respect, is the convergence of the 'normal' structural divisions within the working class (for example, the labour aristocracy) with racial divisions. (Wolpe, 1976, p.198)

These schisms have been encouraged by the development of racist ideology in the working class and the development of different labour organisations (see Chapter 3). Rex (1973), for example, sees this distinction as being based on workers who, on the one hand, have a history of being free, having access to political power, and unionisation, and on the other, workers who are unfree and have been subjected to a number of restrictions with respect to their liberties, job security and price of their labour. Migrant labour, the homeland system, job restriction, the predominant absence of trade union rights,<sup>1</sup> and the opposition of white workers have meant that the black worker experiences a different and inferior set of labour conditions. Not only do white workers constitute a labour aristocracy consisting of skilled workers, most of whom enjoy a high degree of privilege, but they usually also perform a supervisory function (Simson, 1975; Wolpe, 1976). Furthermore, historically white workers have

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<sup>1</sup> African workers were only allowed to join registered trade unions in 1979. Nevertheless, several strong trade unions with predominantly black memberships existed before 1979 but these did not have access to industrial councils.

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been able to rely on the state for maintaining their privileged position within the division of labour. As de Clerq (1980) points out, "it is important not to take for granted the racial differentiation within the labour processes, but to situate the division of labour within the context of the racially segregated society in South Africa" (p.21).

Within the craft-diluted unions of South Africa, this segregation of labour has been encouraged in an attempt by white workers to prevent the deskilling, fragmentation and dilution of their craft (Lewis, 1984) through the application of the closed shop which, in most cases, has been neglected at industrial council level and written into industrial council agreements. The union under study, however, differs from other South African craft-diluted unions in that it has attempted to organise African workers since the 1970's without recourse to a closed shop clause. Some may argue that this was an attempt to enhance its strength numerically and control further dilution of the craft by cheap African labour (Cooper, 1983). Nonetheless, the union has been strong in its opposition to the establishment of separate, parallel unions for black and white workers and in 1973 decided to organise African workers in a unitary system, believing this to be necessary to ensure decent working conditions. In 1980, following legislation which legally permitted multi-racial unions, it was decided by popular ballot to amend the union's constitution to include African workers (Cooper, 1983). In 1985 the union's constitution was again amended to entrench the multi-racial structure of the union. Specifically, the amendment stipulated that "all race groups comprising its membership will have equal representation on the



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executive to ensure that no interest group can dominate the others" (SALB, p.33).

However, of pertinence to the present study, the union has always adopted a "multi-racial" as opposed to a "non-racial" approach. Although the union executive has a multi-racial structure, separate branches exist for different race groups. The union intends to integrate from the top down to overcome resistance from the rank and file to full integration and in the hope that branches will voluntarily decide to amalgamate in time. The union, then, acknowledges the divisions which exist within the South African working class and that segregation makes it problematic to run a fully non-racial labour organisation. For instance, different residential areas make it difficult to obtain representative attendance at mixed branch meetings (Cooper, 1983). Furthermore, it is felt that there are differences in the needs, priorities, working conditions and labour history of the different race groups. It is the aim of the present research to verify whether this belief is justified and whether differing structural models of union commitment exist for different segments of the labour force. Consequently, race within the context of South African labour, is perceived to be an important demographic variable affecting commitment to labour organisations.

Other relevant personal characteristics (such as member expectations about, and attitudes to, labour organisations, local unions and union officers) have been associated with support of labour organisations. Labour union image plays a significant role in pro-union voting behaviour (Youngblood, DeNisi, Molleston, & Mobley, 1984). Several studies have showed that individuals who become members of organisations and who have



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realistic expectations of the benefits offered by the organisation are less likely to leave voluntarily than if they hold unrealistic beliefs (Wanous, 1980). Also, there is research evidence suggesting that the extent to which the expectations of new organisational members are met has a direct, albeit limited, influence on commitment (Grusky, 1966; Steers, 1977). Gordon *et al.* (1980) found that loyalty to the union, a primary dimension of union commitment, was strongly associated with both attitudes toward one's own local union and its leaders. Attitudes concerning the institution of organised labour in general were good predictors of members' overall commitment to the union. This supports research which has indicated a significant and strong relationship between instrumentality perceptions concerning the union's effectiveness at improving work conditions and the worker's decision to vote for or against unionisation on his/her job (Beutell & Biggs, 1984; Bigoness & Tosi, 1984; Brett, 1980; DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Kochan, 1979; Youngblood *et al.*, 1984). Indeed, union instrumentality, compared to either extrinsic or intrinsic job satisfaction, is more predictive of union support among both white-collar and blue-collar workers (Kochan, 1979). Furthermore, Kochan (1979) found that perceptions of union instrumentality were significantly more predictive of voting behaviour than the general image workers had of organised labour.

The initial level of commitment on joining the organisation is related to both perceived union instrumentality and union commitment. Porter *et al.* (1976) found initial commitment levels to be good predictors of turnover in organisations. It is probable that individuals who join unions with initially high levels of commitment are more likely to participate in union activ-

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ities, such as attending meetings, voting in elections, finding out about union contracts, and engaging in behaviours beyond those expected by the union. These behaviours in themselves may be committing and, in turn, further reinforce commitment attitudes and behaviours. As Mowday *et al.* (1982) note,

the likelihood of developing a self-reinforcing cycle of commitment.....is largely dependent on the opportunity to engage in behaviors that are committing. In other words, the opportunities provided to new (members) are crucial in determining whether initially high levels of commitment are translated into more stable attachments (p. 57).

New members entering labour organisations bring with them different goals and needs which they seek to satisfy through trade union membership. As with organisational commitment, initial levels of member commitment may be associated with worker's perceptions of the congruence between their own goals and those of the union, and the extent to which they perceive the union as being instrumental to the attainment of those goals. For example, it has been found that the higher the need for achievement, the higher the initial levels of organisational commitment (Mowday & McHade, 1980). It is possible that such needs as those for power and affiliation influence commitment to the union. Glick, Mirvis and Harder (1977) have suggested a complex relationship exists between union satisfaction and participation which is inconsistent with expectancy theory. Satisfaction is positively correlated with participation among members who express high needs for "decision making, accomplishment, and growth," whereas for union members with weak needs, participation may indicate dissatisfaction with the union. The sample in this study, however, consisted of members of a nonaffiliated professional engineering union, and so cannot be regarded as representative of the total labour force. Further research is

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required on different workers to clarify the nature and directionality of the relationship between union members' initial levels of commitment and the perceived instrumentality of the union in satisfying member needs. These needs may not only have a direct influence on initial commitment, but may moderate the relationship between early experiences with the union and union commitment.

Even though Gordon *et al.* (1980) did not investigate the relationship between union instrumentality and the various factors of commitment to the union, they did find significant correlations between attitudes toward unions in general and all facets of commitment. In several studies (Bigoness & Tosi, 1984; DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Hammer & Berman, 1981) perception of union instrumentality has been found to be the most important predictor of voting behaviour.

Except for Bigoness and Tosi (1984), the studies cited above have sampled non-unionised employees and voting in certification elections. Barling and Milligan (1986) have suggested that there may be fundamental differences between unionised and non-unionised workers' perceptions of union instrumentality. Workers who are not members of unions have to rely on "vicarious information and preconceived or stereotyped perceptions" (p.5) of what labour organisations are capable of achieving. On the other hand, union members' perceptions of instrumentality are probably more reliant on their own personal experiences and involvement in labour organisations. Bigoness and Tosi's (1984) sample was also atypical in that it consisted of university members of a faculty union involved in decertification elections. The present study focuses on the perceptions of

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instrumentality of a sample of unionised, blue-collar workers who are members of an established labour organisation. Whereas the above studies used cross-sectional designs which yielded correlational data that provided little information about the causal direction of relationships, the present study investigates union instrumentality as a causal predictor of both attitudes of commitment to the union and behavioural participation in union activities.

Workers also join unions with differing work values. Mowday *et al.* (1982) have suggested the importance of individual values and beliefs in determining initial levels of commitment to the organisation. Evidence from studies on organisational commitment suggests that employees with a strong belief in the value of work and who perceive work as a central life interest are more likely to develop high levels of commitment and identify with the goals and values of the organisation (Dubin *et al.*, 1975; Hall & Schneider, 1972; Kidron, 1978; Rabinowitz & Hall, 1977). Specifically, workers with a strong Protestant Work Ethic tend to be more highly committed to organisations (Buchanan, 1974; Card, 1978; Goodale, 1973; Hall *et al.*, 1970; Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hulin & Blood, 1968; Kidron, 1978). However, the Protestant Work Ethic is probably one of many belief systems held by the individual (Buchholz, 1978b). It has already been elaborated how commitment as a process is an important characteristic of labour organisations (see Chapter 2). If the individual's beliefs are not compatible with the process of unionisation then the individual is not likely to become involved in the union. Commitment then is probably related to the beliefs of the individual, which in turn are a product of both the culture of the

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organisation and the culture of the society to which the individual belongs.

The concept of the belief system as developed by Rokeach (1968) is defined as follows,

The belief system is conceived to represent all the belief sets and expectancies, or hypotheses, conscious or unconscious, that a person at a given time accepts as true, and which in the ordinary course of events he does not question. (p.37)

The phenomenon of unionism has been described as arising out of feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction with work. Various researchers have pointed to the increasing work dissatisfaction amongst many segments of the work force and have suggested that this is connected with basic changes that are occurring with respect to beliefs about work as a human activity (Buchholz, 1978b; Gooding, 1972; Sheppard & Herrick, 1972; Tarnowieski, 1973). Buchholz (1978a, 1978b) in surveying the literature on work beliefs developed five belief systems, "each constituting a set of unique assumptions about working activity" (1978b, p.220). Briefly, these five belief systems can be defined as follows;

1. *The Work Ethic* - the belief that work is good in itself, offers dignity to the person and that success is a result of personal effort.
2. *The Organisational Belief System* - the view that work takes on meaning only as it effects the organisation and contributes to one's position at work.



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3. *Marxist-Related Beliefs* - the opinion that work is fundamental to human fulfilment but as currently organised represents exploitation of the worker and consequent alienation.
4. *The Humanistic Belief System* - the view that individual growth and development in the job is more important than output.
5. *The Leisure Ethic* - which regards work as a means to personal fulfilment through its provision of the means to pursue leisure activities.

Buchholz (1978a) has indicated that, regardless of occupational status, work ethic beliefs amongst union officials are the lowest in comparison to other belief systems. Members of unions (production workers, maintenance workers, clerical people and technicians) exhibited a greater propensity toward Marxist-related belief systems (Buchholz, 1978a, 1978b). Buchholz's findings suggest the possibility of a relationship between commitment to labour organisations and feelings of exploitation, needs for greater and more equal participation in the workplace, and perceived union instrumentality. For instance, workers with a strong humanistic or Marxist work ethic may become more committed to unions. The present study concentrates on the Work Ethic and Marxist-related beliefs. A fuller description of these beliefs has been provided by Buchholz (1978a);

*Marxist-related beliefs.* Productive activity or work is basic to human fulfilment, for without work man cannot provide for his physical needs nor can he maintain contact with the deepest part of himself. Through work man creates the world and himself and keeps in touch with his fellow



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human beings. As presently organised, however, work...does not allow man to fulfil himself as a creative and social individual because the work of the average person mainly benefits the ownership classes of society rather than the worker himself. Workers are exploited and alienated from their productive activities. They should have more say as to what goes on in the corporation and exercise more control over the workplace. (p.452)

*The work ethic.* - Work is good in itself and bestows dignity on a person. Everyone should work and those who do not are not useful members of society. By working hard a person can overcome every obstacle that life presents and make his own way in the world. Success is thus directly linked to one's own efforts, and the material wealth a person accumulates is a measure of how much effort he has expended. Wealth should be wisely invested to earn still greater returns and not foolishly spent on personal consumption. Thus thrift and frugality are virtues to be practised in the use of one's material possessions. (pp.452-453)

It is hypothesised that Marxist-related beliefs will have a stronger causal effect on union commitment amongst those workers who feel more exploited and discriminated against. Conversely, for those individuals who constitute the labour aristocracy there will be a stronger adherence to work ethic beliefs.

The personal beliefs, values, goals and needs of individuals appear to represent an important influence on the tendency of workers to become committed to unions. However, the relationship between these variables must remain speculative. It is the aim of the present research to specify their exact nature.

Finally, life satisfaction will be considered as an antecedent, personal effect of union commitment. A growing literature (Haavio-Mannila, 1971; Iris & Barrett, 1972; Kavanagh & Halpern, 1977; London, Crandall & Seals, 1977; Near, Rice & Hunt, 1978; Payton-Miyazaki & Brayfield, 1976) has focused on individual satisfaction with various life experiences and its relationship with work related factors. The life satisfaction construct in-

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corporate various social indicators and individual perceptions of satisfaction with different areas of one's life experiences, including marriage and family, personal health, neighbourhood and government, leisure, housing and financial condition (Andrews & Withey, 1974; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976).

Much research on life satisfaction has investigated the differences in quality of life between various groups defined by age, education, race, socioeconomic class, occupation and marital status (Campbell et al., 1976; London et al., 1977; Near et al., 1978). However, of greater relevance to the present study is the research which has examined the association between life satisfaction and work experiences and which suggests that people's general attitude toward life and their attitude toward their job are inextricably linked. This research has tended to focus on life satisfaction as a dependent rather than an independent variable and has aimed at establishing a set of predictor variables for life satisfaction within the areas of the industrial community and job attributes (Near et al., 1978). The results of this research suggest that job dissatisfaction has a "spillover effect" (Kornhauser, 1965) and influences or generalises to an overall discontent with other life domains (Kohn & Schooler, 1973; Sheppard & Herrick, 1972; *Work in America*, 1973). However, because these studies either used static correlations or contrasted the life or nonwork satisfaction of employees who were satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs, they do not allow inferences to be made of the direction of causality. No research has been undertaken to ascertain the relationship between life satisfaction and attitudes toward and involvement in unions. On the basis of the dissatisfaction model of unionisation (see below), the present research hypothesises

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that an "expressive" or "compensatory" relationship exists between life satisfaction and union commitment. In other words, high satisfaction with aspects of one's life will facilitate low union commitment, whereas dissatisfaction with one's standard of living, state of health, education, family and social life, and broader political issues will cause greater commitment to labour organisations.

*Work/Organisational Experiences.* The socialisation of the individual into an organisation and the nature and quality of experiences during membership are important correlates of commitment to organisations. Most of the research investigating these antecedents has focused on organisational rather than union commitment. Recently, however, Fukami and Larson (1984) found work experiences to be the only significant predictors of both organisational and union commitment. These findings would suggest that certain individual experiences in the initial stages of organisational socialisation are directly generalisable to labour organisations and that an understanding of organisations' commitment can contribute to the development of a model of union commitment.

The socialisation processes which organisations establish for their new members have been suggested to have an important influence on the development of attitudes of attachment and commitment (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Mowday *et al.*, 1982). The development of organisational commitment is hypothesised to be dependent on the extent to which the organisation inducts the newcomer and transmits important values and norms about behaviour through various planned, socialisation experiences. Despite the theoretical importance of socialisation practices

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in organisations, little research has been conducted which investigates how specific socialisation experiences influence individual commitment. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) have proposed several socialisation tactics which effect the degree of acceptance by the new member of his/her organisational role, but these relationships have not been empirically tested in the union context.

Although anticipatory socialisation experiences (i.e. socialisation which occurs before the individual has become a member of the organisation) have been found to influence attitudes (Feldman, 1976; Porter, Lawler & Hackman, 1975; Van Maanen, 1977), the more important influence is believed to come from early socialisation experiences once the individual is a member of the organisation. Early commitment has been found to be related to the development of greater organisational commitment (Crampon *et al.*, 1978; Mowday & McDade, 1980). The literature on attitude formation (e.g., Kelman, 1974, Salancik, 1977) suggests that initial behaviours elicited by virtue of the individual's role within the organisation facilitate greater attitudinal commitment as employees/members develop attitudes consistent with their behaviour. Stagner (1956) has suggested that early involvement in union activities helps individual attachment to the union.

Gordon *et al.* (1980) found that early socialisation experiences were consistently and positively correlated with all aspects of commitment to the union. Specifically, they investigated individuals' initial expectations with respect to their role and how these resulted from interactions with other organisational members. In addition, responses were assessed as to the reasons

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workers joined the union and feelings about such early experiences as participation in union activities, perceived union support, the clarity of union expectations and so forth. Also, the extent and nature of new members' interactions with other members was assessed. These socialisation influences (together with participation in union activities) were found to be most closely associated with overall commitment. Members who reported positive socialisation experiences in their first year had the highest levels of loyalty and felt responsibility to the union, as well as expressing a greater willingness to work for the union and a stronger belief in unionism.

Interactions with established union and organisational members is the primary avenue whereby recruits internalise the implicit mores of the organisational climate and refine their own initial expectations concerning the organisation and their roles (Van Maanen & Schein, 1978). It may be that a process of socialisation which involves the individual in role behaviours beyond those usually required by the organisation generates greater feelings of attachment through cognitive consonance (Salancik, 1977; Stagner, 1956). Nevertheless, regardless of the direction of the attitude-behaviour relationship, social involvement and the extent and nature of initial socialisation experiences are important correlates of attachment to unions (Fukami & Larson, 1984; Gordon *et al.*, 1980).

A few studies on organisational commitment have highlighted the relationship between commitment and the degree to which initial experiences fulfil expectations concerning the organisation (Grusky, 1966; Steers, 1977). The greater the perceived dependability of the organisation in attending to its members'



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interests, the greater the commitment (Buchanan, 1974; Hrebiniak, 1974; Steers, 1977). These findings are particularly relevant to union commitment in the light of results which suggest a high level of calculative involvement in unions. It has already been indicated that the perceived instrumentality of unions in acquiring benefits, better working conditions, pay and so forth, may be an important aspect of the concept of commitment to labour organisations. The present study hypothesises that early socialisation experiences will be positively and causally related to both attitudes of union commitment and participation in union activities.

*Role-related characteristics.* Steers (1977) isolates a third group of correlates of organisational commitment. These relate specifically to employee job characteristics. In terms of work roles it has been found that job challenge, role conflict and role ambiguity influence commitment. The greater the scope and challenge of jobs, the higher the levels of organisational commitment (Buchanan, 1974; Steers, 1977; Steers & Spencer, 1977; Stevens, Bayer, & Trice, 1978).

From the research conducted on unionisation it would appear that there are several characteristics of jobs which might cause union commitment. A prevalent explanation of the process of unionisation is that workers join unions because of perceived deprivations and various dissatisfactions with the conditions of their employment (Bigoness, 1978; Dubin, 1973; Farber & Saks, 1980; Getman *et al.*, 1976; Hammer & Smith, 1978; Kochan, 1978; Schriesheim, 1978; Walker & Lawler, 1979; Zalesny, 1985). Most of these approaches make the distinction between extrinsic/economic and intrinsic/non-economic job conditions and



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satisfaction. For example, LeLouarn (1979) and Schriesheim (1978) have reported significant associations between satisfaction with work, wages, and working conditions and union voting behaviour. Similarly, Duncan and Stafford (1980) investigated intrinsic aspects of the job such as degree of autonomy, skill utilisation, and machine pacing, and found that these factors facilitated unionisation. The available evidence relating attitudes toward work and attitudes toward unions suggests that overall job satisfaction is negatively associated with perceived need for a union (Allen & Keaveny, 1983). This evidence also indicates that dissatisfaction with extrinsic factors is a more important influence on unionisation than dissatisfaction with intrinsic factors. For example, dissatisfaction with job-related characteristics such as wages and security is strongly associated with union voting behaviour (Getman *et al.*, 1976). Schriesheim (1978) also found that pro-union voting was more strongly related to satisfaction with extrinsic factors such as pay, working conditions, job security, and company policy rather than to intrinsic factors such as independence and the opportunity to satisfy higher order needs. Consequently, many feel that unions cannot, and should not, deal with non-economic, quality of work life issues (Beer & Driscoll, 1977; Kochan, Lipsky, & Dyer, 1974; Strauss, 1977). However, these findings are not unequivocal. Schriesheim (1978) has showed that most of the studies outlined above used measures which only questioned satisfaction with specific extrinsic job characteristics and working conditions. Exclusion of measures of a sufficient number of noneconomic satisfaction factors might have caused economic factors to seem particularly potent and to carry more weight.

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Other studies have found that intrinsic issues, such as work content and desire for more influence, are as important predictors of unionism as extrinsic factors (e.g., Bigoness, 1978; Gabarino, 1975, 1980; Herman, 1973; Ladd & Lipset, 1973; Walker & Lawler, 1979). Specifically, such intrinsic aspects of the job as degree of autonomy, skill utilisation, machine pacing, distrust in decision-making and powerlessness are associated with unionisation (Duncan & Stafford, 1980; Hammer & Berman, 1981). Hammer and Berman (1981), for example, show that distrust in decision-making and powerlessness are important non-economic factors in union voting. Whereas most studies emphasise a deprivation and dissatisfaction model of unionisation, Hammer and Berman perceive positive attitudes to unions as a response to a lack of power which facilitates distrust and dissatisfaction with job content. A survey amongst South African black workers (Webster, 1979) suggests that unionisation in emergent labour organisations results largely from employee perceptions of lack of organisational and broader political power, victimisation by management, and arbitrary and discriminatory behaviour by the company.

The general conclusion that can be drawn from the above studies is that the process of unionisation is related to dissatisfaction with both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Jobs which have a low motivating potential and which engender greater dissatisfaction with the work environment should evoke greater union commitment amongst workers. Kochan (1979) has found that there is a tendency for workers to turn to unions *only* if other more informal and organisational channels of influence are not available to change work conditions. Comparing white-collar and blue-collar workers, he found that among blue-collar workers

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dissatisfaction with extrinsic factors was more strongly related to union support. However, dissatisfaction with intrinsic factors such as the nature of work was more strongly associated with the inclination to support a union among white-collar workers. It is possible the unions who organise white-collar workers focus more on improving intrinsic conditions of work than do unions whose membership is composed predominantly of blue-collar workers. As a result, white-collar workers, dissatisfied with intrinsic factors, are more likely to support a union in an effort to improve the intrinsic aspects of their work.

Regarding research on the relationship between union commitment and satisfaction with extrinsic and intrinsic job characteristics, Gordon *et al.* (1980) found either negative or nonsignificant associations between satisfaction of lower and higher order needs and feelings of responsibility to the union, expressed willingness to work for the union and general belief in unionism. The pattern of correlations suggested that white-collar workers who were dissatisfied with extrinsic aspects of their job were more willing to be actively involved in the union. Belief in the concepts of organised labour were stronger amongst those workers who felt that their extrinsic needs were not being satisfied. Satisfaction of intrinsic needs was not associated with either beliefs in organised labour or willingness to work for the union. This would conform to previous research (Kochan *et al.*, 1974) which found that unions are not perceived as being instrumental in providing jobs with greater challenge, responsibility and autonomy. In addition, the relationship between facets of union commitment and job satisfaction does not seem to be moderated by a simple blue-collar/white-collar distinction. Several factors, such as

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the nature of the membership and the type of union under investigation, appear to influence the relationship. For example, Gordon *et al.* (1984) found that although union loyalty was significantly associated with extrinsic and intrinsic satisfaction in a sample of technicians, a similar association was not found amongst engineers.

The relationship between factors of union commitment and extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction in Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) study gives rise to a number of suggestions. Firstly, given the instrumental nature of the Union Loyalty factor and the positive correlation between this factor and satisfaction of both higher and lower order needs, Gordon *et al.* suggest the possibility that white-collar workers "regard union membership and the actions of their bargaining units as important influences on all....facets of their employment." Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with extrinsic factors was more strongly associated with "Willingness to Work for the Union" and "Belief in Unionism". Secondly, some of the subjects in Gordon *et al.*'s study were involved in a cooperative effort with management aimed at investigating noneconomic issues. This may have inflated expectations concerning the satisfaction of intrinsic needs and made the results somewhat atypical.

Having surveyed the above studies, it is hypothesised that dissatisfaction with extrinsic and intrinsic job characteristics will have a causal effect on commitment to the union but that the strength of this effect will vary for economic and noneconomic factors, depending on the particular segment of the union membership being studied.

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The inability of the organisation or task to satisfy the salient needs of the individual, together with inadequacies in organisational structure, are the major determinants of alienation (Seeman, 1959). One area of union commitment which needs to be researched, therefore, is the relationship between work alienation and commitment. Whereas job satisfaction can be regarded as an outcome variable which is situationally dependent (Saleh, 1981), alienation is more of an intervening variable which is less susceptible to situational changes.<sup>2</sup> Kanungo (1979) believes that alienation and its resultant cognitive states of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement arise from the inability of the organisation or work to satisfy the salient needs of the individual. Workers might be more predisposed to become committed to labour organisations if they are in work situations which (a) do not have the potential to satisfy their social needs, (b) do not provide sufficient information for the worker to plan and predict his/her work environment, (c) break down and simplify the work process so that it becomes meaningless, (d) provide the worker with no power or control because the pace of work is controlled and mechanised, and (e) do not provide the worker with the opportunity to self-actualise. The effects of both job dissatisfaction and alienation, however, are probably moderated by perceptions of the union's instrumentality in improving conditions of work where the organisation has been unresponsive (Brett, 1980; DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Kochan, 1980).

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<sup>2</sup> It must be noted that alienation is seen as being conceptually distinct from life satisfaction (Vredenburg & Sheridan, 1979).



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The concepts of job involvement and alienation have received considerable theoretical and empirical attention in both the psychological and sociological literature (e.g., Blauner, 1964; Durkheim, 1893; Kanungo, 1979; Marx, 1844/1932; Seeman, 1971; Shepard, 1971). Despite this attention, however, the definition, interrelationship and operationalisation of the concepts remains vague (Kanungo, 1979). The consequences of work alienation and non-involvement are similar to those of low organisational commitment, that is low productivity, high absenteeism and turnover (Blauner, 1964; Walton, 1972). Also, many studies have described the phenomenon of alienation/involvement in a variety of contexts and attempted to relate the phenomenon to characteristics of workers and work situations (for a review of these studies see Kanungo, 1982; Rabinowitz & Hall, 1977).

Sociological theories of alienation have their source in the writings of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Marx conceived alienation as the product of job conditions which separated workers from the products of their labour and from the means of production. Alienation is the result of work characterised by a lack of autonomy and control by the individual over his/her own behaviour (Marx, 1844/1932). Redefined in motivational terms, the Marxian concept of alienation reflects the frustration of the workers' needs for independence, achievement and power (Kanungo, 1979). Weber also conceived alienation as arising from a work environment that does not satisfy the individuals needs for autonomy, achievement and responsibility. Durkheim's (1893) work on alienation focused on his concept of *anomie*, that is the perception of a lack of socially approved means and norms to guide behaviour for the purpose of achieving culturally prescribed norms (Kanungo, 1979). This "normlessness" was because of the dis-



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ruption of the normative structures of traditional societies by the process of industrialisation (Blauner, 1964). Kanungo (1979) states that this form of alienation is caused by the frustration of social and security needs.

Perhaps the most extensive definition of alienation by a sociologist is that of Seeman (1959, 1971). He has outlined five associated states of alienation;

1. *Powerlessness* refers to the perceived lack of control over political, industrial or work systems. It is defined as the perceived lack of freedom and control on the job and as arising from increased mechanisation.
2. *Meaninglessness* is defined as the individual's inability to predict the product of his/her labour and results from the increasing division of labour and specialisation of work.
3. *Normlessness* is when traditional, socially approved norms of behaviour are no longer appropriate for the achievement of goals. This state derives from Durkheim's concept of *anomie*.
4. A related state is *isolation*. Normlessness gives rise to feelings of cultural estrangement and isolation. The alienated individual is described as rootless and lonely (Seeman, 1971). Blauner (1964) has outlined how these two forms of alienation arise on the job when the worker is not socially integrated and feels isolated from the organisation and its goals.

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5. Finally, *self-estrangement* occurs when the individual worker is not provided with the opportunity to express his/her abilities or skills and when the job is purely instrumental in satisfying needs such as for money and security.

Kanungo (1979) notes three characteristics associated with sociological approaches to alienation. Firstly, they concentrate mainly on the analysis of the state of alienation rather than the opposite state of involvement. Secondly, the emphasis in sociological studies has been on group or social alienation rather than on individual feeling states. And thirdly, sociological approaches describe alienation in terms of "epiphenomenal categories" which are difficult to verify empirically due to a lack of operationalisation.

A few sociological approaches have associated alienation with the process of unionism. Tannenbaum (1952), for example, sees trade unionism as a response to the worker's sense of alienation from both job and society. The union provides the worker with a collectivity in which he/she can relate to employers, fellow workers and his/her job. Unions increase the worker's power and control and reduce feelings of normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. The union therefore is not merely an economic organisation but also a social and ethical system which attempts to re-establish the values in which the individual has found dignity. Blatter also sees the union as a reform movement which could counteract powerlessness. Again these associations have been more anecdotal than empirical.

Psychological interest in the concept of alienation is relatively recent and has tended to concentrate on empirical inves-

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tigations of job involvement (Kanungo, 1979). Psychological descriptions of alienation focus on the extent to which the job satisfies the intrinsic and extrinsic needs of the worker. However a distinction needs to be made between job involvement and job satisfaction and intrinsic motivation. Lawler and Hall (1970) note that intrinsic motivation refers to a state of the individual in which satisfaction of intrinsic needs is contingent upon appropriate job behaviour, and job satisfaction results from satisfaction of the needs of the individual through the attainment of job outcomes without regard to the contingencies of the outcomes. Job involvement on the other hand is perceived as the extent of psychological identification with work or one's job and the extent to which work affects one's self-esteem (Lodahl & Kejner, 1965). Job involvement, consequently, is seen as conceptually independent from job satisfaction, both in terms of its content and because it is relatively resistant to change, having its base in personal value systems.

Despite the growing literature on job involvement (see Rabinowitz & Hall, 1977 for a review) there still remains a great deal of ambiguity and confusion, both theoretically and empirically. However Kanungo (1979) notes that a common thread within the psychological formulations of job involvement and its antithesis, alienation, is that involvement is associated with the satisfaction of intrinsic needs, such as self-esteem, achievement, autonomy, control, self-expression and self-actualisation.

It seems as if a lack of intrinsic-need satisfaction is the basic condition for increasing work alienation. In this regard, psychologists seem to have followed the sociological tradition of considering the lack of individual freedom, power, and control as necessary preconditions of the psychological state of alienation. (Kanungo, 1979, p.128).

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A motivational framework for the psychological study of alienation and involvement has been developed by Kanungo (1982). This approach is characterised by several considerations. First, alienation is defined as a "cognitive belief state of the individual" and as such concentrates on an individual level of analysis. Second, alienation is distinguished from its causes and effects. Third, the approach integrates sociological perspectives within a motivational framework. For example, Kanungo interprets Blauner's (1964) definition of the isolation part of alienation as being caused by the frustration of salient social belonging needs. Similarly powerlessness is more likely to be experienced by individuals with a high need for autonomy, control and self-esteem. Kanungo points out that the Marxist notion that job alienation is the source of all other forms of alienation in life has yet to be tested. It is quite conceivable that too much involvement in a particular job may alienate the worker from other activities such as in the union, family or community. On the other hand, the concept of dual allegiance would imply that an attitude of involvement in work may have positive effects on union involvement.

The present study aims to investigate the effects of job alienation and involvement on an area other than work, namely its effect on attitudes of commitment to a labour organisation. There is a paucity of empirical work which has investigated this relationship. The only reported study (Pestonjee, Singh & Singh, 1981) found a significant negative correlation between job involvement and attitudes toward unions ( $r = -0.58$ ) in a sample of 200 blue-collar textile workers in Northern India. Pestonjee *et al.* conclude that,

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pro-union employees are more involved in union activities and are not in a position to devote much of their time to the job...alternatively, workers who are frustrated or annoyed by jobs with which they feel no involvement may respond with high union involvement. (p.213).

In a similar vein, the present study hypothesises that alienation or lack of job involvement will have a negative causal effect on attitudes of commitment to the union.

### *The consequences of union commitment.*

*Commitment attitudes and committed behaviours.* With respect to research on organisational commitment, several consequences of commitment have been identified. These include increased tenure (Mowday *et al.*, 1979, Steers, 1977), a moderate but equivocal relationship with attendance and absenteeism (Angle & Perry, 1981), a significant reduction in turnover (Angle & Perry, 1981; Koch & Steers, 1977), a decrease in tardiness (Angle & Perry, 1981; Koch & Steers, 1978; Porter *et al.*, 1974; Steers, 1977), and a weak relationship with job performance and effort (Porter *et al.*, 1976; Steers, 1977). Many of these consequences, although not directly applicable to labour organisations, are still relevant to the concept of union commitment. To formulate a causal model of commitment to labour organisations it was necessary to ascertain the causal nature of the relationship between commitment attitudes and committed behaviours.

Mowday, Steers and Porter (1982) have made the distinction between behavioural (or social psychological) and attitudinal (or organisational behavioural) approaches to organisational commitment. Behavioural related approaches to commitment conceptualise attitudes of commitment to be the outcome of var-

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ious behaviours participated in by the individual which bind him/her to the organisation (Becker, 1960; Salancik, 1977; Staw, 1977). In other words committed behaviours may determine subsequent attitudes (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). These committed behaviours initiate a process whereby the individual rationalises his/her situation by developing attitudes which are consistent with their behaviours (Bateman & Strasser, 1984). Much research has supported the hypothesis that commitment behaviours facilitate consonant attitudes (see Kiesler, 1971 and Salancik, 1977, for reviews). For example, organisational commitment has been associated with various work behaviours, such as participation in decision-making (Rhodes & Steers, 1981), supervisor ability or behaviour (Michaels & Spector, 1982; Morris & Sherman, 1981), and role clarity and freedom from conflict (Jamal, 1984; Morris & Koch, 1979; Welsh & LaVan, 1981).

Attitude-related approaches to commitment perceive commitment as leading to committed behaviours. Organisational commitment is defined as a combination of both attitudes and behavioural intentions (Angle & Perry, 1983; Buchanan, 1975; Ferris & Aranya, 1983; Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Porter & Smith, 1970). Research conducted within this approach has attempted to ascertain the various behavioural outcomes of commitment. For example, organisational commitment has been variously related to attendance and absenteeism (Koch & Steers, 1978; Larson & Fukami, 1984; Mowday, Steers & Porter, 1979; Steers, 1977); tardiness (Angle & Perry, 1981); turnover (Angle & Perry, 1981; Hom, Katerberg, & Halin, 1979; Koch & Steers, 1978; Larson & Fukami, 1984; Marsh & Mannari, 1977; Mowday *et al.*, 1979; Porter, Crampon, & Smith, 1976; Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974; Steers, 1977); involvement (Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1972;



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Porter *et al.*, 1974; Stevens, Beyer & Trice, 1978; Stone & Porter, 1976); and performance (Larson & Fukami, 1984; Van Maanen, 1975). The relationship between commitment and job performance, however, has been correlative, positive and weak (Mowday *et al.*, 1974; Steers, 1977). Mowday *et al.*, (1982) explain these findings thus:-

performance is influenced by motivation level, role clarity, and ability (Porter & Lawler, 1968). Attitudes like commitment would only be expected to influence one aspect of actual job performance. Hence, we would not expect a strong commitment-performance relationship. (p.36)

There are then two broad traditions in the research on organisational commitment. One (the "behavioural") conceives committing behaviours as causing the development of attitudes, the other (the "attitudinal") sees commitment attitudes as having behavioural consequences. The problem with most research in both traditions is that it assumes the antecedent or consequent nature of the behavioural variables which have been found to be associated with organisational commitment (Bateman & Strasser, 1984). The cross-sectional designs and correlative analyses that have been utilised in these studies have shed little light on the causal relationship which exists between commitment attitudes and behaviours.

The little longitudinal research that has been conducted in the area to establish the causal nature of the relationship between the two types of variable has lent support to both approaches. Mowday and McDade (1979), for example, found that individuals who have made job choices that are behaviourally committing have a greater propensity to become attitudinally committed. Furthermore, these effects may persist up to six months on the job (O'Reilly & Caldwell, 1980). This would support Salancik's the-

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ory that commitment results from irrevocable and volitional acts that the individual engages in, in this instance, during the job choice process. On the other hand, Crampon *et al.* (1978) found that among a small sample ( $N = 46$ ) of graduates entering their first full-time job, the results of a longitudinal study suggested that attitudinal commitment facilitated job performance which reinforced previous attitudes of commitment. In a recent time-series study by Meyer & Allen (1985), cross-lagged correlation and cross-lagged multiple regression analyses revealed that organisational commitment did not causally determine self-report measures of work behaviour and turnover intentions. Nevertheless, cross-sectional analysis of each time lag showed that commitment was positively related to motivation and performance and negatively correlated with intent to search for alternative employment or to leave the company. Meyer and Allen explain the anomalies in their results as being due to the volatile nature of early employment commitment which would make it a better short- than long-term predictor of behaviour.

Although attitudinal approaches have recently received greater empirical support (Amernic & Aranya, 1983; Angle & Perry, 1983; Ferris & Aranya, 1983; Morris & Sherman, 1981), and have provided the basis for research on commitment to labour organisations (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd *et al.*, 1982), research is still needed to clarify the causal link between attitudes and behaviours in both the organisational and union commitment areas.

Three decades ago, Stagner (1956) described participation in union-related activities as causing individual attachment to the union. Despite this realisation, very little research has been

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done which has investigated the behavioural correlates of union commitment. Gordon *et al.* (1980) found all the factors of their commitment to union scale to significantly correlate ( $p < 0.001$ ) with participation in such union activities as serving in an elected office, voting, attendance at general membership meetings, knowledge of the union contract, and grievance-filing behaviour. They also found that union commitment and its constituent factors correlated positively with recent participation in union activities which were supportive of the union. However, union commitment was not found to be associated with turnover from the union. Gordon *et al.* (1980) attributed this to "the lack of variance in the turnover measure" (p.493). These findings were supported in the present research, where the constructs of commitment were found to correlate significantly and predictably with both participation in formal and essential activities, and informal, more peripheral behaviours (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, both these studies used cross-sectional designs which provided merely associational indications of the relationship between union commitment attitudes and behavioural participation in union affairs.

Previous research, therefore, on both organisational and union commitment, has hypothesised causal relationships with behavioural variables on the basis of either theory or intuition. Most of these correlational studies have viewed behaviour as a consequence rather than an antecedent of commitment. Mowday *et al.* (1980) have suggested that the relationship between commitment attitudes and behaviours is most parsimoniously viewed as being reciprocal;

it is equally reasonable to assume that (a) commitment attitudes lead to committing behaviours that subsequently reinforce and strengthen attitudes, and (b) committing

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behaviours lead to commitment attitudes and subsequent committing behaviours. The important issue is not whether the commitment process begins with either attitudes or behaviours. Rather what is important is to recognise that the development of commitment may involve the subtle interplay of attitudes and behaviours over time. (p.47)

Nevertheless, it was the aim of the present study to ascertain the nature of the causal relationship between attitudes of union commitment and participation in essential union activities using a longitudinal cross-panel design. This aim was further justified for methodological reasons. The method of analysis for constructing a process model of commitment to the union in the present dissertation was path analysis. One of the assumptions of path analysis is that the direction of the causal relationships between dependent variables within the path model should be pre-determined, either theoretically or statistically. Billings and Wroten (1978) point out that in "most...uses of path analysis in industrial/organisational psychology literature, the issue of correct ordering of variables seems to be disregarded" (p.682). Theoretically, the relationship between attitudinal and behavioural variables is equivocal. Consequently it was important to statistically verify the causal priority between commitment attitudes and commitment related behaviours.

### *An hypothesised model of union commitment.*

From the above research there is an abundance of findings which suggest possible correlates of commitment to unions. However, the problem still exists that suggestions concerning the antecedents and outcomes of commitment are hypothetically based on correlative data. All the studies that have investigated union commitment and the majority of studies on organisational

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commitment have been cross-sectional in nature and therefore shed little light on the dynamics and process of commitment. Consequently it is the aim of the present research to conduct longitudinal research which explains the directionality of the psychological and behavioural process through which commitment to labour organisations develops. So far several relevant variables from various areas of the literature have been identified. These would appear to be important concomitants of the commitment process and should provide valuable guidelines for any research aimed at ascertaining the nature and direction of the relationships between variables. The present research steers away from an over-reliance on cross-sectional designs which illuminate associational rather than causal analyses and concentrates on a longitudinal and path analytic approach which will enable a process model of union commitment to be confirmed.

The hypothesised relationships and their directions are illustrated in Figure 4.2. This represents the path diagram for the general structural model which has been theoretically formulated above. It must be noted that this model is a just-identified one in that the number of equations is equal to the number of parameters that are to be estimated (Pedhazur, 1982). In the causal model presented in Figure 4.2 a distinction is made between *exogenous* and *endogenous* variables. An exogenous variable is a theoretically predicted variable that acts as a cause but whose occurrence is not to be explained by the model. In other words, it is a variable whose variability is assumed to be determined by causes outside the causal model. An endogenous variable, on the other hand, is a dependent variable whose occurrence or variation is to be explained by exogenous or other endogenous variables in the structural model. Since it would be



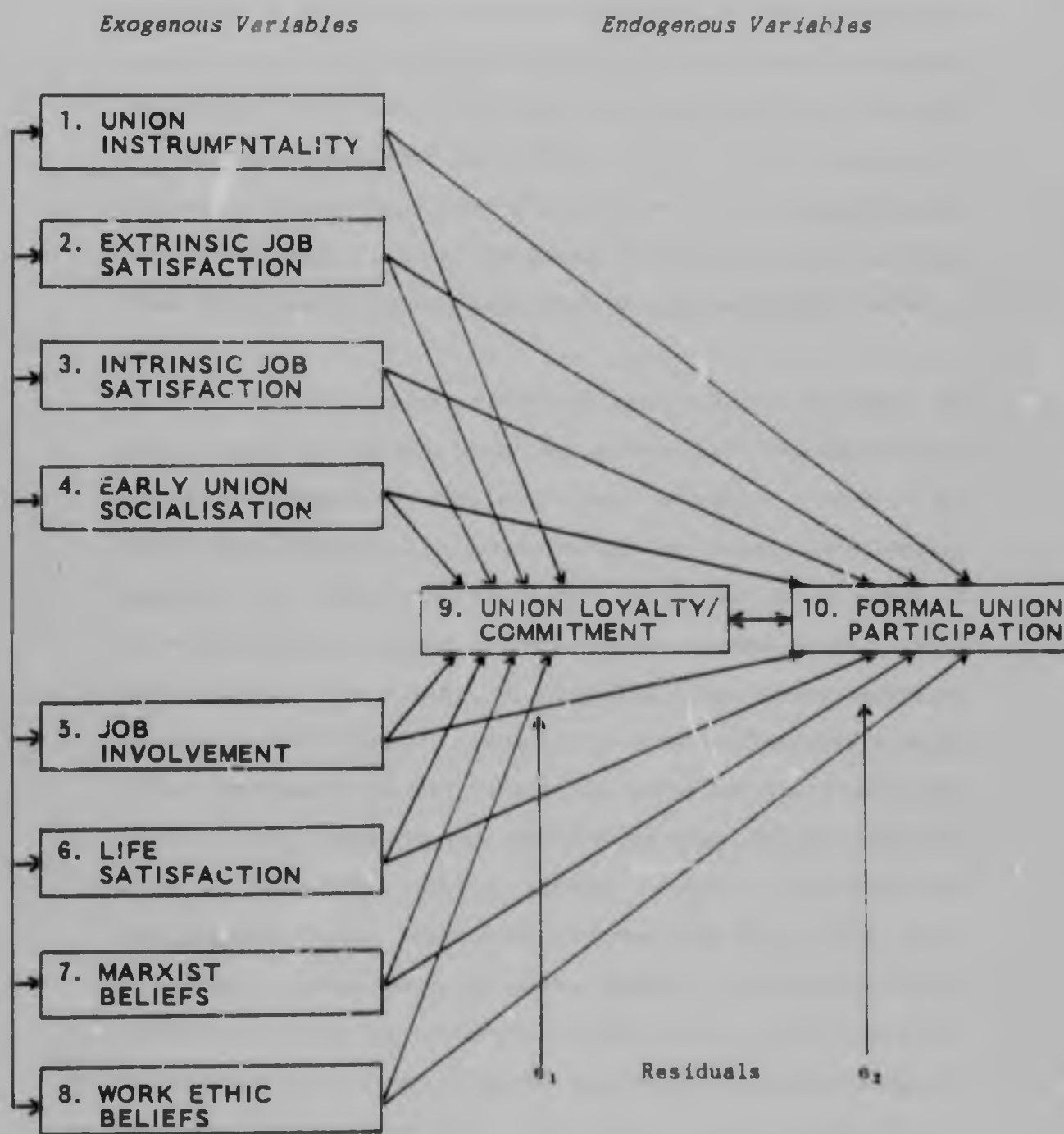


Figure 4.2.: Path diagram for just-identified model.



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impossible to account for the total variance of the endogenous variables in the model, residual variables ( $e_1$  and  $e_2$ ) are intended to show the effect of variables not included in the model (see Chapter 6). It will be assumed that these residual variables are not correlated with each other or with other variables in the model. The double-headed arrows between the exogenous variables means that although exogenous variables may be related, their relationship is not explained by this particular model.

In the structural model presented here, union commitment and participation in formal union activities are hypothesised as endogenous variables resulting from personal-, work-, and job-related factors. The direction of the causal relationship between union commitment and formal participation is shown to be reciprocal for reasons outlined above. James *et al.* (1982) have indicated how studies of causality allow for nonrecursive relations which suggest reciprocal causation. Personal factors in the hypothesised model include the perceived instrumentality of the union, work values (Marxist-related beliefs and Work Ethic beliefs), and general life satisfaction. Work/organisational experience factors consist of the early socialisation experiences of union members. Job-related characteristics focus on satisfaction with both extrinsic and intrinsic features of one's job and the extent of the individual's job involvement/alienation. In total, eight exogenous or antecedent variables and two endogenous or dependent variables are proposed for the just-identified model. For path analysis, the assumed causal sequence of effects must be determined *a priori* and should be based on statistical or theoretical considerations (Pedhazur, 1982). In the current model, union instrumentality, extrinsic and intrinsic satisfaction,

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socialisation experiences, job involvement, life satisfaction, and Marxist-related and Work Ethic beliefs are exogenous and, therefore, prior. The theoretical justification for the inclusion of these variables as causal factors has been outlined above.

A further aim of the present research is to verify whether, and in what way, the personal, work, and job-related characteristics of the worker differ, and to what extent different models of union commitment can be developed for white and black members. To this end the just-identified model presented in Figure 4.2 was "theory trimmed" to produce the hypothesised over-identified models presented in Figures 4.3 and 4.4.<sup>3</sup>

It is hypothesised that two major differences will exist between the models of union commitment for black and white workers. Firstly, because of the history of white workers in South Africa and their membership of a labour aristocracy, protectionist interests and a concern with maintaining their security, wages and privilege will mean that these union members will be committed to the union for extrinsic reasons. Goldthorpe *et al.* (1968) have argued that the modern "affluent" worker views union membership and activity in instrumental and extrinsic terms:

the significance which unionism has for these workers is very largely confined to issues arising in their employment which are *economic* in nature and which are local in their origins and scope. (p.113)

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<sup>3</sup> For the sake of parsimony, the causal links between the exogenous variables and formal participation in union activities have been trimmed. The exceptions are union socialisation and union instrumentality as these have been shown to have strong associations with behavioural participation. All the other variables are hypothesised to act through union commitment in their effect on participation in union activities.

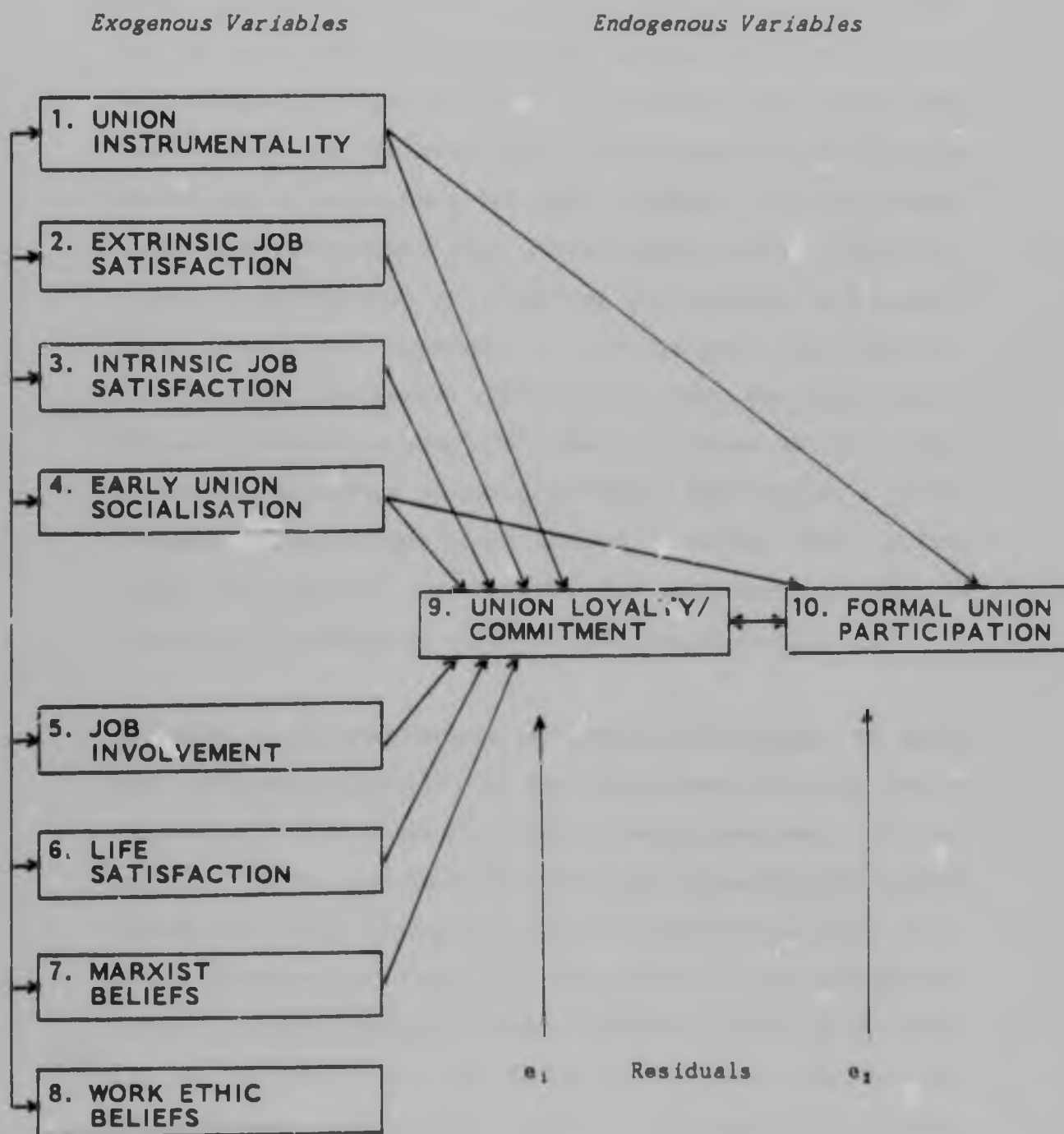


Figure 4.3.: An overidentified model of union commitment amongst black union members.

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Furthermore, because white workers have greater access to political, organisational and social institutions for the satisfaction of more intrinsic, noneconomic needs, the union will not be perceived as instrumental in satisfying these needs. With black workers, on the other hand, the existence of far inferior conditions of employment and their general disfranchisement leads to the hypothesis that labour organisations will be perceived as instrumental in satisfying both economic and noneconomic needs. This hypothesis is not without some empirical justification. Schlemmer (1984) found that the majority of African unionised workers (79%) saw that worker action was instrumental in solving political problems. Also Webster's (1979) research suggested that black workers in South Africa joined unions not only for improved benefits and wages, but also to defend the "dignity and rights" of African workers.

Secondly, it is hypothesised that the belief systems of white and black workers will differ but that these differing belief systems will have a causal effect on union commitment. African workers, due to a history of racial discrimination and exploitation, will hold stronger Marxist-related beliefs than their white counterparts. This will facilitate a need for participation through organised labour (Buchholz, 1978a). White workers, on the other hand, will follow a more traditional pattern of commitment, in that their belief in the Work Ethic and the opportunity to express their craft or skills will cause commitment to labour organisations (Buchanan, 1974; Card, 1978; Dubin *et al.*, 1975; Goodale, 1973; Hall & Schneider, 1972; Kidron, 1978).

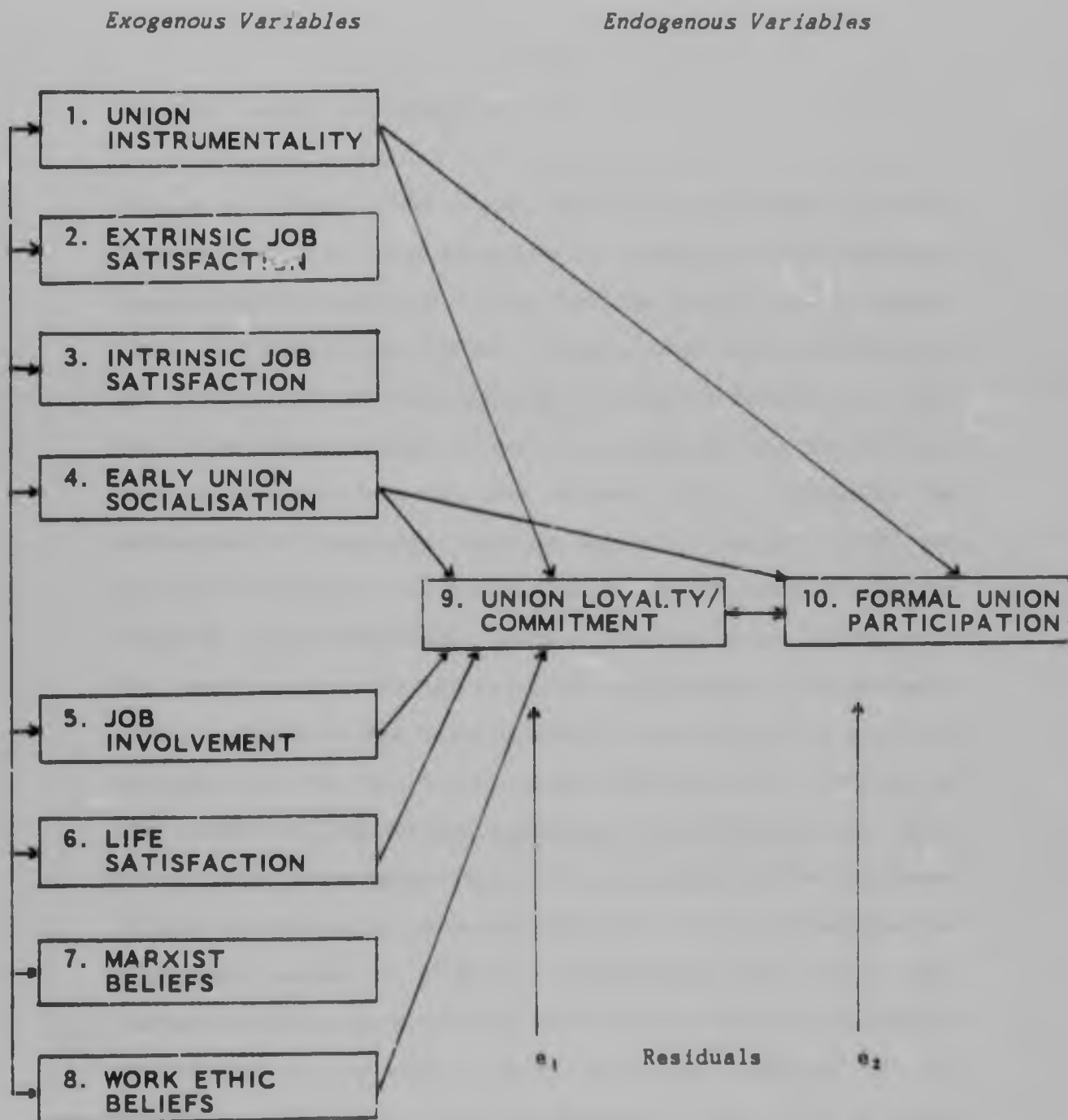


Figure 4.4.: An overidentified model of union commitment amongst white union members.



## CHAPTER 5

### Method and results

#### *Method.*

##### *Research setting and subjects.*

Data were collected from black and white union members from the same multi-racial union described in Chapter 3. Questionnaires, together with a covering letter from the union's General Secretary, were sent to every black and white shop steward throughout the country who was registered on the union's mailing list ( $N = 400$ ). The letter again outlined the reasons for the research and encouraged participation (see Appendix B). Anonymity was emphasised to encourage response honesty. Subjects were requested to complete the questionnaire and return it to the researcher in the addressed, stamped envelope which accompanied the questionnaire. In addition, 786 union members were surveyed from factories on the Witwatersrand; one in the East Rand and the other in the West Rand. These factories were involved in the mechanical engineering and metal industries and had relatively large union memberships. They were selected on the basis of the recommendation of union officials who could provide the researcher access to members. Furthermore, these plants consisted of black and white union members and consequently enabled comparisons to be made between different segments of the workforce. All workers who were members of the union at these plants were given questionnaires. In both these factories, the distribution and collection of the questionnaires were supervised by union shop stewards who were briefed on the importance of surveying all the union members in the plant. Respect for confidentiality was emphasised. Questionnaires to rank and file

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members were also accompanied by a letter from the General Secretary encouraging participation and ensuring confidentiality and anonymity. Once the questionnaires had been completed by the respondents in their own time, they were requested to return it to a collection box at the study sites. The questionnaires were then collected by research assistants after a period of ten days. Of the 1186 questionnaires distributed, 457 (38%) were returned. Of these, 26 had to be discarded due to incomplete or insufficient data. This left a total of 427 utilisable questionnaires for a response rate of 36%.

A second administration of the union commitment and union participation scales was conducted eight months later.<sup>1</sup> It was felt that this time period was sufficient to allow for causal effects. Again a covering letter was included from the union's General Secretary explaining that this was the final stage of the study and stressing the importance of those members who had completed the questionnaire previously to answer the questions the second time round. Of the 1186 questionnaires distributed, 415 were returned for a Time 2 response rate of 35%.

Time 1 and Time 2 responses were identified and matched with respect to birth date and union tenure of the subjects. Other demographic information was utilised in those few cases where this information was identical. The final sample consisted of 308 (72% of the final Time 1 sample) union members who had completed usable questionnaires both times. Of these repeat respondents, 139 were whites and 169 black members. The results

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<sup>1</sup> The first survey was conducted in the first two weeks of July, 1984. The second survey occurred in the first two weeks of March, 1985.

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reported in this dissertation are based on the responses from only these repeat respondents.

In an effort to assess how representative the final group was from the rest of the study sample, t-test comparisons were calculated on the complete set of variables under investigation and the demographic measures (i.e., age, number of dependants, education, company and union tenure, and salary). The repeated measures group ( $n = 308$ ) was compared with the one time responses at Time 1 and Time 2 (total  $n = 226$ ). No differences across these groups would suggest that the repeated measures group on whom the analyses were to be conducted, would be representative of the sample. Using two-tailed t-tests and a significance level of  $\alpha = 0.05$ , the repeated measures group showed no significant differences from the two samples of one-time respondents in all of the 17 comparisons (see Appendix C).

### *Measurement of variables.*

The variables in the present study were operationalised as follows:

#### *Endogenous Variables.*

*Formal Participation* in union activities is an indication of behavioural involvement in union affairs and was measured using the scale described in Chapter 3. The instrument consisted of seven items assessing attitudes to participation in, and knowledge of, union activities developed from Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) study. These activities were regarded as formal because they are important for the effective and democratic operation of the un-

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ion. They included participation in the recent union elections,<sup>2</sup> frequency of attendance at union meetings, knowledge of the union-management contract, attitudes to grievance filing, and current union status (i.e., whether members were elected office bearers or serving on a committee). The validity of the Formal Participation scale had already been assessed previously (see Chapter 3). The correlation between self-reported measures of participation in union activities and independent assessment by union branch managers and/or area organisers ranged from 0.64 to 0.89 ( $M r = 0.76$ ). A test of reliability at Time 1 and Time 2 yielded high Cronbach  $\alpha$  coefficients for both black and white samples ( $M \alpha = 0.78$ ; range = 0.72 - 0.91)(see Table 5.3). Test-retest reliability over an eight month period was also satisfactory ( $M r = 0.66$ ; range = 0.62 - 0.69)(see Table 5.4).<sup>3</sup>

*Union commitment.* The Union Loyalty factor derived in the previous study (see Chapter 3) was used as an assessment of union commitment. This dimension of commitment to labour organisations can be seen as a union analogy of commitment as conceptualised by Porter and his colleagues (Mowday, Steers & Porter, 1979; Porter, Crampon & Smith, 1976; Porter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian, 1974). It is also similar to Allen and Meyer's (1984) concept of "affective commitment" which refers to the individual's "emotional attachment to, involvement in, and identification with the organisation" (p.2). Union Loyalty

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<sup>2</sup> The elections for union officers had occurred one month prior to the Time 2 survey. These elections were not regarded as a confounding factor since *all* participants in the study were exposed to the same situation.

<sup>3</sup> The measure of participation in informal union activities described in Chapter 3 was not used as the items were retrospective in nature and consequently would have violated the assumption of synchronicity underlying cross-lagged panel design (Kenny, 1976; Rogosa, 1980).

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consists of nine items which have been found to load consistently on this factor in other studies (Barling, 1985; Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd *et al.*, 1982). Furthermore, in all these studies Union Loyalty has accounted for most of the variance in union commitment. Not only has this factor been found to be stable across samples, but its validity was also found to be satisfactory (see Chapter 3). Union Loyalty has also been identified as a theoretically central element of commitment (Buchanan, 1974; Mowday *et al.*, 1983; Porter & Smith, 1970). In addition, the present factor is an indication of the individual's willingness to make an effort to engage in union activities over and above those required by the normal member. Schneider (1985) regards this willingness to be an essential ingredient of commitment. The internal consistency of Union Loyalty in the present study was within the acceptable range ( $M$  Cronbach  $\alpha = 0.88$  for both samples and time periods; see Table 5.2). Test-retest reliability over an eight month period was also found to be good ( $r = 0.66$  and  $0.52$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$  for both black and white samples respectively). Union Loyalty was defined as a sense of pride in being a member of and associated with the union (see Chapter 3).

### *Exogenous Variables.*

*Perceived Union Instrumentality* was measured using a seven item scale with a five-point response (5 = Strongly Agree, 3 = Unsure, 1 = Strongly Disagree). The seven questions consisted of statements concerning the possible benefits unions could achieve for their members in the areas of unfair labour practices, job security, value for membership fees, working conditions, supervision, and overall benefits. To date, no consistent instrument with established measurement characteristics has been developed



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to assess the perceived instrumentality of unions. Consequently, items for the present scale were derived from previous questionnaires used in research which had found perceived union instrumentality to have a significant effect on unionisation (DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Kochan, 1979). Youngblood *et al.* (1984) constructed an instrument which assessed individuals' beliefs that a labour union was instrumental in achieving 20 job-related outcomes. The internal consistency of this scale was 0.93 and it was found to correlate positively with union vote intention. A 13-item scale, measuring beliefs that union membership results in positive work outcomes was developed on student nurses by Beutell and Biggs (1984). Scores on this instrumentality scale predicted intentions to join a union. Kochan (1979, 1980) utilised a four-item scale which assessed workers' instrumentality beliefs about whether unions protected workers against unfair practices, improved job security and wages, and gave their members their dues' worth. This scale correlated significantly with both voting behaviour in a union representation election ( $r = 0.33$ ), and propensity to unionise ( $r = 0.35$ ;  $0.32$ ,  $p \leq 0.01$  for both blue- and white-collar workers respectively) (Kochan, 1978). Finally, DeCotiis and LeLouarn (1981) constructed an eight-item union instrumentality scale which "assessed employees' perceptions of the extent to which the presence of a union would result in better pay, benefits, working conditions, supervision and fair treatment" (p.110). The present seven-item scale derived its items from the above instruments, the major criterion for item selection being its relevance to the study sample and applicability in the South African context. An additive composite of the seven items was used to form a single measure of union instrumentality which had an internal consistency of  $\alpha = 0.84$  and  $\alpha = 0.90$  for black and



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white members respectively. All items were recoded so that a higher score indicated greater perceived instrumentality.

*Job satisfaction* was measured using Warr, Cook and Wall's (1979) Overall Job Satisfaction scale. This scale was specifically developed in response to the "need for short, robust scales which are easily completed by blue-collar workers of modest educational attainment" (Cook, Hepworth, Wall, & Warr, 1981, p.32). The instrument consists of 15 items, seven of which measure Intrinsic Satisfaction with such job elements as autonomy, recognition, responsibility, opportunities for promotion, use of abilities and so forth. The remaining eight items cluster around an Extrinsic Satisfaction dimension and include satisfaction with physical work conditions, fellow workers, bosses, wages, and management (see Appendix B). Warr *et al.* (1979) report coefficients on two different samples of 0.79 and 0.85 for Intrinsic Satisfaction, and 0.74 and 0.78 for Extrinsic Satisfaction. A test-retest reliability of 0.63 for Overall Job Satisfaction was observed across a six month period. These satisfaction measures, together with overall satisfaction, were found to significantly correlate with organisational commitment (Clegg & Wall, 1981), work involvement, intrinsic job motivation, and overall life satisfaction (Warr *et al.*, 1979). In the present study, respondents had to indicate on a five-point dimension their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with each of the 15 statements (1 = Very Dissatisfied, 3 = Unsure, 5 = Very Satisfied). The higher the score the greater the satisfaction. In the present study, it was important to maintain the extrinsic/intrinsic distinction in order to test hypotheses. Consequently, the two subscales of Overall Job Satisfaction were utilised rather than the composite scale. The internal consist-

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encies of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Satisfaction were satisfactory across both samples (Intrinsic Satisfaction,  $\alpha = 0.91$  and  $0.84$ ; Extrinsic Satisfaction,  $\alpha = 0.83$  and  $0.93$  for black and white samples respectively). Furthermore, both Intrinsic and Extrinsic Satisfaction correlated significantly at the 1% significance level with Job Involvement (see Table 5.5).

*Union Socialisation.* Individual member's early socialisation experiences were assessed by an eleven-item scale derived from Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) measurement of socialisation influences. These items consisted of self-reported experiences when individuals first joined the union, such as the clarity of the union's goals, feelings about being a union member, perceived strength of the union, whether the union supported, encouraged or ignored the new member, and whether the union attempted to influence the beliefs and opinions of the individual. Other items ascertained whether the new member had experienced various social interactions with other union members that conceivably could have influenced his expectations or behaviour toward the union. These interactions included receiving a personal invitation to a union meeting, receiving help with filing a grievance, solicitation of a vote, being informed about aspects of the agreement which related to the individual's job, and provision of information concerning the union. The response format was a three-point scale (2 = "Yes", 1 = "No", 0 = "Can't remember").<sup>\*</sup> Gordon *et al.* (1980) report no reliability figures for their scale. In the present study the internal homogeneity of the above scale was within the range of acceptability for both samples

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\* Two items were negatively phrased. These were reverse scored so that higher scores indicated greater satisfaction with early socialisation experiences.

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(Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0.80 and 0.85 for black and white union members respectively).

*Alienation* was measured using Kanungo's (1982) ten-item Job Involvement questionnaire. Using a motivational approach, Kanungo perceives alienation and involvement as being the opposite ends of the same continuum. He distinguishes between job and general work alienation. Alienation is defined with respect to the psychological and cognitive states of the worker. Whereas work alienation is viewed as a "generalised cognition (or belief) state of psychological separation from work" in general (Kanungo, 1982, p.80), job alienation or involvement is defined as a "specific cognitive belief state of psychological identification with or separation from that job" (p.80). Job alienation is dependent upon the salience of the individual's intrinsic and extrinsic needs, and the expectations of the worker concerning the potential of the job to satisfy these needs. Job alienation, therefore, is a far more specific belief compared to work alienation and it was job alienation which was measured here. Kanungo's instrument also distinguishes between job involvement and intrinsic motivation on the job (Gorn & Kanungo, 1980; Kanungo, 1981) and organisational commitment, and it attempts to redress previous scales' problems with construct validity. The Job Involvement Questionnaire has been found to exhibit high internal consistency (Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0.87) and test-retest reliability ( $r$  = 0.85) (Kanungo, 1982). Also the convergent and discriminant validity of the Job Involvement Questionnaire has been shown to be satisfactory (Kanungo, 1982). In the present study five-point agree-disagree response formats were used and the internal reliability of the scale was found to be good

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(Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0.94 and 0.90 for black and white samples respectively).

*Life Satisfaction* was measured using Warr *et al.*'s (1979) 15-item scale which assesses satisfaction or dissatisfaction with features of the respondents' life. These features include the individuals living space, state of health, education, family and social life, as well as various political factors such as the present government, the moral standards and freedom and democracy in South Africa, the state of law and order, and so forth. Responses had to be located on a five-point response scale (1 = "Very Dissatisfied", 3 = "Unsure", 5 = "Very Satisfied"). Studies on two samples of British blue-collar workers revealed an alpha coefficient of 0.78 (indicating satisfactory internal consistency). Total life satisfaction was also found to correlate with "happiness" ( $r = 0.42$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$ ) and overall job satisfaction ( $r = 0.42$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$ ). This latter finding supports earlier research which has found significant associations between life satisfaction and job satisfaction (Hall, 1976; London, Crandall, & Seals, 1977). Life satisfaction has also been found to be interrelated to other factors of psychological well-being (Bradburn, 1969; Warr, 1978). An additional, pragmatic reason for the selection of the present scale was its development for easy comprehension by, and administration to, blue-collar workers. In the present circumstances, life satisfaction was found to have good internal homogeneity (Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0.90 and 0.90 for black and white samples respectively). Furthermore, in both samples there was a significant relationship with overall job satisfaction ( $r = 0.63$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$  (black union members);  $r = 0.29$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$  (white union members)).

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*Work Beliefs.* Two belief systems were measured, each assessing different assumptions concerning work behaviour. Buchholz's (1978a; 1978b) measures of the Work Ethic and Marxist-related beliefs were used. These scales consisted of seven and eleven items respectively, to which respondents had to indicate their level of agreement on a five-point, Likert-type scale (5 = "Strongly Agree", 3 = "Unsure", 1 = "Strongly Disagree"). Buchholz (1978b) found the items of these two belief systems to load on two separate factors and to be orthogonally independent. The Cronbach Alpha and Split-Half reliability coefficients corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula were in the acceptable range for each of the two scales. In the present study, reliability coefficients for both the Work Ethic scale (Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0.69 and 0.67 for black and white samples) and Marxist-related beliefs (Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0.85 and 0.83 for black and white samples) were satisfactory, indicating acceptable internal consistency. The Work Ethic scale measured the strength of agreement with the beliefs that work is essential for independence, superiority, dignity, and overcoming life's problems. The Marxist-related statements assessed the extent to which respondents perceived work as being basic to human fulfilment, and the extent to which work organised within a capitalist system benefits the wealthy, exploits and alienates the worker, and prevents him/her from realising their human potential (Buchholz, 1978a; 1978b) (For a fuller definition of these two belief systems see Chapter 4).

*Demographic variables.* With the exception of race, demographic variables were not incorporated into the path analytic models, for reasons outlined in Chapter 4. However, respondents were asked to indicate such biographical data as age, number of dependants, educational level, salary, and union and company ten-



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ure. Given the racial discrimination in South Africa it was hypothesised that the two samples would differ on many of these variables. However, emphasis needs to be made here that it was not the intention of this research to ascribe differences to race *per se*. Black culture in the present instance was seen as deriving from a common heritage of oppression, income and land deprivation, and a shared history of discrimination and suffering, forced migration and denial of participation. Within the South African apartheid system, racist legislation ensures the existence of various socio-economic inequalities associated with race; inequalities in political franchise, educational opportunities, conditions of employment, social welfare, living circumstances, and so forth. These differences in cultural heritage were reflected in the present research (see Table 5.1). White union members had higher salaries ( $t(291) = 14.41, p < 0.01$ ), a higher level of education ( $t(302) = 3.55, p < 0.01$ ), less people dependent on their salary ( $t(303) = 3.44, p < 0.01$ ), and had been members of the organisation/company ( $t(301) = 6.43, p < 0.01$ ) and union ( $t(298) = 18.49, p < 0.01$ ) for longer periods. These significant differences confirm that white workers in the present sample had jobs characterised by greater wages and security and had had union protection for a longer period of time. It was hypothesised that it was because of such political and socio-economic differences that different models of Union Commitment would be appropriate for different race segments of the working class within a racist society.

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Table 5.1  
*T-tests between black and white union members on demographic variables.*

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Degrees of Freedom</i>	<i>t value</i>
<i>Number of Dependents</i>					
Whites	138	4.23	2.05		
Blacks	167	5.07	2.20	303	3.44*
<i>Education Level</i>					
Whites	136	4.33	0.72		
Blacks	168	4.00	0.86	302	3.55*
<i>Organisational Tenure</i>					
Whites	134	9.93	6.70		
Blacks	169	5.51	4.79	301	6.43**
<i>Salary per Week</i>					
Whites	130	243.25	83.69		
Blacks	163	127.37	53.14	291	14.41**
<i>Age</i>					
Whites	132	42.68	9.72		
Blacks	166	33.00	10.07	296	8.37**
<i>Union Tenure</i>					
Whites	131	14.24	7.95		
Blacks	169	2.72	1.35	298	18.49**

\*  $p < 0.01$

\*\*  $p < 0.001$

### *Analytic Procedures.*

The major mode of statistical analysis in the present study was path analysis. More specifically, path analysis was used to test different causal models of commitment for black and white union members against a set of observed correlations. As with any statistical approach, there is a set of assumptions associated with the technique which have to be fulfilled if correct causal inferences are to be made.

One of these assumptions is that the direction of the causal relationship between variables within each model (i.e., between *endogenous* variables) is one-way. In other words, path analysis

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does not usually allow for reciprocal causality. Consequently, it is important to specify the causal order of endogenous variables, either theoretically or statistically.

*Cross-Lagged Regression Analysis.* To assess causation between Commitment to the Union (measured by Union Loyalty) and Formal Participation in union activities, cross-lagged regression analyses were computed (Rogosa, 1980). Initially, the cross-lagged panel design was analysed via six correlations; two static correlations for Time 1 and Time 2 values of Union Loyalty and Formal Participation ( $r_{x_1y_1}$  &  $r_{x_2y_2}$ ); two autocorrelations, which were test-retest reliabilities or stabilities ( $r_{x_1x_2}$  &  $r_{y_1y_2}$ ), and two cross-lagged correlations ( $r_{x_1y_2}$  &  $r_{y_1x_2}$ ) between the Time 1 value of one variable and the Time 2 value of the other variable.

Causal analysis and tests of spuriousness are typically assessed by statistical correction and comparisons of the magnitude of the cross-lagged correlations (Kenny, 1975). Recently, however, cross-lagged panel correlation (CLPC) has been severely criticised (Rogosa, 1980), despite the fact that it is the most recommended and popular procedure in psychological research for analysing causal relations from longitudinal data (cf. Calsyn, 1976; Calsyn & Kenny, 1977; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Crano, 1974, 1977; Humphreys & Stubbs, 1977; Kenny, 1975). Rogosa (1980) has demonstrated that the determination of spuriousness and the attribution of causal predominance by CLPC is unsound:

Rarely is it recognised that the objectives of cross-lagged correlation (CLC) are modest and limited. In its most complete form, CLC purports to distinguish only between spuriousness and a causal predominance for one of the variables. Even if CLC were valid for its stated objectives, it falls short of providing an adequate de-

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scription of causal influence in panel data. The failure of CLC to achieve even these limited objectives makes the status of CLC as the primary analysis method for panel data in education and psychology very unfortunate. (Rogosa, 1980, p.249).

Among the criticisms that Rogosa has levelled against CLC as a statistical technique that does not provide information about causal effects are;-

1. Results may indicate the lack of a causal relationship when causal influences are present.
2. The corollary of the above is that results may indicate causal predominance when no significant effects are present. CLC fails to distinguish between different magnitudes of cross-lagged correlations.
3. The assumptions of CLC, that is synchronicity and stationarity, are unrealistic and difficult to fulfil.

Consequently, for the purposes of the present study, it was decided to utilise an alternative, appropriate method of analysis for longitudinal, panel data, namely cross lagged regression (Duncan, 1969; Heise, 1970; Rogosa, 1980).

The cross-lagged regression model is especially applicable to survey-type data where measurements have been made on the same sample and the same variables at two different times (Heise, 1970). For a given pair of variables measured at Time 1 ( $x_1$  and  $y_1$ ) and at Time 2 ( $x_2$  and  $y_2$ ) there are 12 possible path coefficients (Heise, 1970). However, by virtue of the fact of a time lag between measurements of the variables, four possible paths

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$(y_2 \rightarrow y_1, y_2 \rightarrow x_1, x_2 \rightarrow x_1, x_2 \rightarrow y_1)$  can be discarded from the analysis, since it is not feasible that variables at Time 2 cause variables at Time 1. A further four possible causal paths can be eliminated  $(y_1 \rightarrow x_1, x_1 \rightarrow y_1, y_1 \rightarrow x_2, x_1 \rightarrow y_2)$  if it is assumed that the causal effect of one variable on the other is not instantaneous, but requires some causal time lag. The path model for the two-variable, two-wave situation is represented in Figure 5.1.

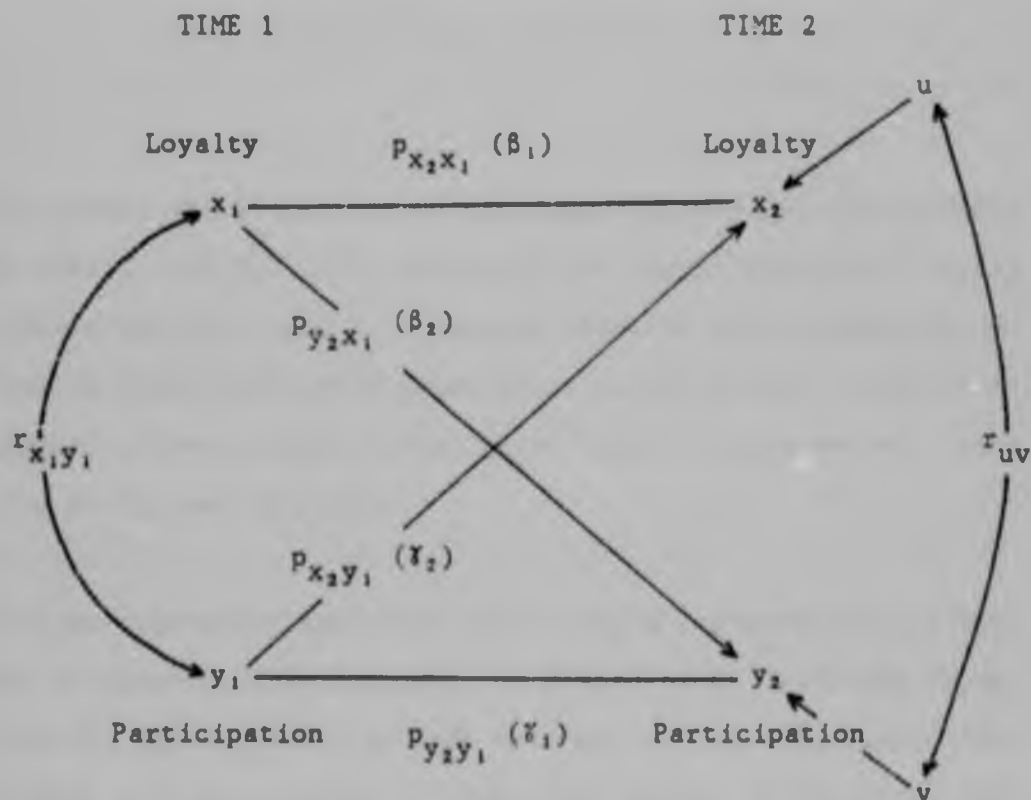


Figure 5.1: Path model for two-variable, cross-lagged regression situation.

The residual variables,  $u$  and  $v$ , represent that part of the variance in  $x_2$  and  $y_2$  not explained by  $x_1$  and  $y_1$ , but due to outside, unmeasured effects. These effects may be correlated without affecting the validity of the model (Heise, 1970). The causal influence from  $x_1$  to  $y_2$  is represented by the regression



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parameter of the path from  $x$  at Time 1 to  $y$  at Time 2. Likewise the causal influence from  $y_1$  to  $x_2$  is represented by the regression parameter of the path from prior  $y$  to a subsequent  $x$ . The path coefficients here are equivalent to the standardised partial regression coefficients. Thus, the structural regression equations are:

$$(i) \quad x_2 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \gamma_2 y_1 + u$$

$$(ii) \quad y_2 = \gamma_0 + \beta_2 x_1 + \gamma_1 y_1 + v$$

The parameters  $\beta_1$  and  $\gamma_1$  represent the influence of the variable on itself, and  $\beta_2$  and  $\gamma_2$  represent the lagged reciprocal causal effects between  $x$  and  $y$ . A nonzero value of the relevant parameter is indicative of a significant causal effect. Significant nonzero values of both cross-lagged regression parameters indicate reciprocal causation.

As with regression analysis, cross-lagged regression has a number of underlying assumptions which have to be fulfilled to ensure the appropriateness and accuracy of the technique. The present data were tested to ascertain whether it fulfilled most of these restrictions.

Heise (1970) has outlined several such assumptions. Firstly, the data must be suited for a linear regression model and therefore linear relations must exist between variables; homoscedasticity must exist; and the correlations between variables should indicate noncolinearity, as multicollinearity has been found to facilitate erroneous conclusions with respect to multiple

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regression. Secondly, various assumptions referring to the generality of the causal processes being examined must be upheld. For example it is assumed that the structure of the causal relations remains constant with time. Thirdly, with respect to the causal lags, it is assumed that (a) there are no instantaneous causal effects, (b) the time lags between variables are approximately the same and the constructs are measured at the same point in time (Kenny (1975) has indicated that retrospective data violates the assumptions of two-wave panel design), and (c) the measurement period is less than the causal lag period (in the present study the period between measurements was eight months - sufficient to allow for the effects of attitudes on behaviours or vice versa). Finally, it is assumed that the effects of extraneous sources of variance are minimised by using reliable scales (Heise, 1970) and ensuring that the unmeasured variables or disturbances do not correlate with Time 1 variables.

To conclude, cross-lagged regression has been chosen as the analytic procedure in the present study because of its additional advantages over cross-sectional path analysis. Specifically, cross-lagged regression analysis of panel data provides information on the directionality of causal effects, whereas cross-sectional path analysis is dependent on the use of a recursive model which makes *a priori* statements about causality. Furthermore, cross-lagged regression enables the researcher to ascertain whether there are reciprocal effects or mutual dependencies between commitment attitudes (such as loyalty to the union) and behavioural involvement in formal union activities. However, a note of caution is that cross-lagged regression does

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not unequivocally prove causality, although the causal inferences are strengthened.

*Path Analysis.* Having established the causal relationship between union loyalty and formal participation in union activities, these two variables will be utilised as endogenous variables in a path analytic model. Path analysis will be utilised to enable a study of the patterns of causation among an hypothesised set of variables (Pedhazur, 1982), and to ascertain whether the causal model outlined in the introduction is consistent with the data from both black and white union members. There are two strategies for analysing race as a background variable. One is to exclude the effects of race by calculating partial correlations between variables whilst controlling for race by using dummy variables. This procedure, however, assumes that the causal processes are the same within each race group, even though the groups may differ in mean level. It has already been argued that to deny the effects of background variables or experiences is unrealistic. The second approach is to perform separate analyses for each race group. This latter strategy will be used in the present study as different causal patterns are expected for black and white members.

Path analysis distinguishes between *exogenous* (independent) variables and *endogenous* (dependent) variables. Exogenous variables are those variables whose variance is determined by unmeasured causes outside of the model under consideration. In the present study, the exogenous variables consisted of Perceived Union Instrumentality, Extrinsic Job Satisfaction, Intrinsic Job Satisfaction, Early Union Socialisation Experiences, Job Involvement, Life Satisfaction, Marxist-related Beliefs, and Work

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Ethic Beliefs. Endogenous variables are those variables whose variance is explained by either other endogenous variables or exogenous variables (Pedhazur, 1982). The endogenous variables in the present instance were Union Loyalty and Formal Participation. All these variables have been operationally defined above. A recursive model has been hypothesised which assumes that the causal relations in the model are unidirectional (see Figure 4.2). Variables  $e_1$  and  $e_2$  are residual variables not included in the model.

Again, there are a number of assumptions which underlie the application of path analysis (Pedhazur, 1982). These include,

1. The relations between the variables should be linear, additive and causal.
2. Noncolinearity should exist.
3. Residual variables should not be correlated with each other.
4. The causal relations within the model are one-way and not recursive.
5. All variables should at least be measured on an interval scale and without error.

The data in the present research was assessed to see if it fulfilled these assumptions.

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### *Results*

#### *Cross-lagged Regression Analysis.*

The means and standard deviations for Union Loyalty were fairly stable over time in both black and white samples (see Table 5.2). Formal participation increased significantly over time (white members,  $t(134) = 10.55$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ; black members,  $t(160) = 9.01$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This was probably due to the occurrence of union elections before the second survey which provided greater opportunity for membership involvement (viz. attendance of meetings and voting behaviour).

The data were assessed to ascertain whether they fulfilled the assumptions of a linear regression model. Specifically, tests for linearity, reliability and multicollinearity were performed. The relations between Union Loyalty and Formal Participation at Time 1 and 2 were found to (a) be significantly linear (all  $p \leq 0.001$ ), and (b) not significantly deviate from linearity (all  $p \geq 0.05$ )<sup>5</sup> (see Appendix D).

The reliability coefficients (Cronbach  $\alpha$ ) of the variables at Time 1 and Time 2 are presented in Table 5.3. The internal reliability of the scales at both times and for both samples was satisfactory.

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<sup>5</sup> In addition, measures of the nonlinear proportion of variance explained were calculated by subtracting  $r^2$  from eta-squared. All these measures were less than 0.05 indicating that nonlinear factors accounted for a small proportion of the variance.



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Table 5.2  
Descriptive Statistics for Union Loyalty and Formal Participation

	Time 1		Time 2	
	M	SD	M	SD
<i>White members</i>				
Union Loyalty	22.18	3.38	23.62	3.35
Formal Participation	8.21	3.09	9.80	3.22
<i>Black members</i>				
Union Loyalty	22.03	3.02	23.88	3.24
Formal Participation	7.71	3.05	9.66	2.65

To assess whether multicollinearity existed between the independent variables (i.e. Union Loyalty and Formal Participation at Time 1), Pearson Correlation Coefficients were calculated. Extreme colinearity between variables (i.e., intercorrelations in the 0.8 to 1.0 range) causes problems of a zero divisor, fluctuations in the estimations of regression coefficients, and a decrease in the reliability of the the partial regression coefficients (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975). The intercorrelations between Union Loyalty and Formal Participation at Time 1 and Time 2 are presented in Table 5.4.

As can be seen, multicollinearity did not exist between Union Loyalty and Formal Participation at Time 1. Furthermore, Union Loyalty was consistently and positively related to participation in formal union activities - the greater the attitudes of loyalty to the union, the greater the levels of union participation.

Finally, to ascertain whether the residual variables or unmeasured disturbances ( $u$  and  $v$  in Figure 5.1) were not associated with the Time 1 values of the variables, thereby causing an

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Table 5.3  
Reliability Coefficients for Union Loyalty and Formal Participation

Variables	Time 1	Time 2
	Standardised item $\alpha$	Standardised item $\alpha$
<i>White members</i>		
Union Loyalty	0.91	0.88
Formal Participation	0.79	0.81
<i>Black members</i>		
Union Loyalty	0.89	0.85
Formal Participation	0.78	0.72

Table 5.4  
Intercorrelations among study variables at both points in time.

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Union Loyalty (Time 1)		0.52**	0.60**	0.69**
2. Formal Participation (Time 1)	0.57**		0.45**	0.52**
3. Union Loyalty (Time 2)	0.66**	0.34**		0.56**
4. Formal Participation (Time 2)	0.62**	0.53**	0.59**	

Note: Values for black union members are above the diagonal, values for white members are below.

\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$

autocorrelational effect, the Durbin-Watson statistic ( $d$ ) for residuals was calculated (Durbin and Watson, 1950). The values of  $d$  for the white members ( $n = 139$ ) were 2.21 and 2.03 for the two regression equations. Both results indicated no autoregressive disturbances ( $d_U \leq d \leq 4 - d_U$ ). Similarly the Durbin-Watson statistic for the black sample ( $n = 169$ ) were 2.13 & 2.10 ( $d_U \leq d \leq 4 - d_U$ ). These findings demonstrated that the retention of the least squares estimate was justified without fearing a loss of efficiency and a bias of the estimated standard errors.

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Table 5.5 outlines the longitudinal analysis of the variables for black and white members respectively. It also indicates test-retest reliabilities, static correlations, cross-lagged correlations and regression coefficients. Test-retest reliabilities on both variables in both samples was significantly satisfactory ( $M r = 0.57$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). The static correlations were generally highly significant.

Results showed significant non-zero values of the parameter  $\beta_{x_1y_2}$  across both samples. This suggests that attitudes of Union Loyalty have a significant causal effect on the extent of participation in union activities in both black and white union members. Furthermore, that the relationship was not reciprocal is indicated by the absence of a causal effect of participation on loyalty. In both samples, the parameter  $\gamma_{y_1x_2}$  was negligible. A note of caution is that cross-lagged regression analysis does not indisputably "prove" causality. However, causal inferences are more confidently and substantially strengthened if one of the pertinent regression parameters is significant.

### *Path Analysis.*

Again the data was assessed to see if it conformed to the assumptions underlying path analysis. Table 5.6 presents the correlations that existed between all variables in the study for both samples.

Noncolinearity existed among all variables. All exogenous variables were tested to ascertain whether there were linear relations with the endogenous variables in the path analytic model. All variables were significantly linear ( $p < 0.001$ ) and

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Table 5.5

*Cross-lagged correlation and regression analysis for union members.*

Variable	Reliabilities		Static Correlations		Cross-Lagged Correlations		Regression Coefficients	
	$r_{x_1x_2}$	$r_{y_1y_2}$	$r_{x_1y_1}$	$r_{x_2y_2}$	$r_{x_1y_2}$	$r_{y_1x_2}$	$\beta_{x_1y_2}$	$\gamma_{y_1x_2}$
<i>White Members</i>								
Union Loyalty(x)	0.66**							
Formal Participation(y)		0.53**	0.57**	0.59**	0.62**	0.34**	0.20*	-0.07
<i>Black Members</i>								
Union Loyalty(x)	0.52**							
Formal Participation(y)		0.52**	0.52**	0.56**	0.69**	0.45**	0.67*	0.01

\*  $p \leq 0.01$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$

did not significantly deviate from linearity (all  $p > 0.05$ ).<sup>a</sup>

The means, standard deviations and reliabilities of the exogenous variables which were used in the path analysis are presented in Table 5.7. All variables were measured on at least interval scales and the reliabilities indicated that measurement errors were minimised.

Finally, as mentioned above, one of the primary assumptions of path analysis is that the residuals of endogenous variables do not correlate either with each other or the exogenous variables within the model (Billings & Wroten, 1978).

The consequences of disregarding this assumption may be severe; the size of a path coefficient may be either over- or underestimated, leading to incorrect causal inference. (Billings & Wroten, 1978, p. 680).

<sup>a</sup> In all cases, the proportion of nonlinear variance ( $r^2 - r^2_{\text{etc}}$ ) was less than 5%.

Table 5.6

Pearson correlation coefficients between all study variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Union Instrumentality			***	***			***	*	***	***
		-0.15	-0.38	0.43	-0.05	-0.12	0.37	-0.18	0.68	0.47
2. Extrinsic Satisfaction	***		***	*	***	***	***	***	***	**
	-0.41		0.54	-0.17	0.37	0.52	-0.72	0.39	-0.44	-0.25
3. Intrinsic Satisfaction	*	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	-0.15	0.63		-0.43	0.60	0.58	-0.63	0.49	-0.64	-0.57
4. Union Socialisation	***	***			*	**	***	***	***	***
	0.64	-0.35	-0.04		-0.15	-0.23	0.33	-0.28	0.56	-0.44
5. Job Involvement		**	**			***	***	***	***	***
	0.08	0.20	0.24	0.04		0.49	-0.28	0.28	-0.50	-0.46
6. Life Satisfaction	***	***		***			***	***	***	***
	0.51	-0.38	-0.09	0.44	-0.02		-0.32	0.47	-0.33	0.44
7. Marxist Beliefs	***	***	***	**		**		*	***	***
	0.31	-0.50	-0.42	0.27	-0.04	0.22		-0.17	0.48	0.34
8. Work Ethic Beliefs		*			**				***	***
	0.05	0.18	0.06	-0.03	0.22	0.03	0.13		-0.39	-0.32
9. Union Loyalty/Commitment	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***
	0.61	-0.66	-0.37	0.58	-0.13	0.57	-0.06	0.50		0.69
10. Formal Union Participation	***	***	**	***		***	***		***	
	0.56	0.46	-0.29	-0.55	-0.02	0.44	0.34	-0.10	0.62	

Correlations for black union members are presented above the diagonal. Those for white members appear below the diagonal.

\*  $p < 0.05$ \*\*  $p < 0.01$ \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

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Table 5.7

*Descriptive statistics for exogenous variables*

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Black Union Members</i>			<i>White Union Members</i>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha^*$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha^*$
Union Instrumentality	26.46	4.94	0.84	25.80	5.82	0.90
Extrinsic Satisfaction	23.25	6.52	0.83	25.84	8.34	0.93
Intrinsic Satisfaction	19.98	7.21	0.91	22.78	5.65	0.84
Early Union Socialisation	25.12	5.05	0.80	25.64	6.12	0.85
Job Involvement	31.32	9.15	0.90	33.83	7.55	0.86
Life Satisfaction	44.00	11.77	0.90	55.39	12.22	0.92
Marxist-related Beliefs	39.47	8.28	0.85	36.80	7.64	0.83
Work Ethic Beliefs	21.87	4.90	0.69	22.17	4.42	0.67

\* Cronbach's standardised item alpha

In the present instance, an examination of residual scatterplots was undertaken to ascertain lack of linearity, independence, nonzero means and other abnormalities. This examination indicated that the residual plots were relatively free from abnormalities (Nie *et al.*, 1975, p.342). Furthermore, the Durbin-Watson statistic for both regression equations ( $d = 2.13$  & 2.06 respectively) fell within the upper and lower tabulated



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values ( $d_u \leq j \leq 4 - d_u$ ) indicating no autoregressive effects. Consequently, the use of a least squares solution was justified.

The aim of the present study was to develop and verify a causal model of union commitment for different samples of blue-collar workers. The path diagram for this model has been presented in Figure 4.2. The path parameters were calculated by regressing attitudes of union commitment (Union Loyalty) at Time 1 and participation in formal union activities at Time 2 onto scores of extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction, union instrumentality, early socialisation experiences, job involvement, life satisfaction, and work beliefs at Time 1.

For the remainder of the results section, the data gathered from the black and white union members will be analysed separately to ascertain whether it verifies the model of Union Commitment presented in Figure 4.2. To compare the parameters of the models between black and white members, unstandardised regression parameters were also calculated ( $b_{ij} = \beta_{ij} S_i / S_j$  where  $i$  refers to the dependent variable and  $j$  the independent variable,  $b$  is the unstandardised path coefficient and  $\beta$  the standardised path coefficient). There are serious problems associated with the use of standardised regression coefficients when comparing parameters in two samples (Pedhazur, 1982; Schoenberg, 1972). Any differences in standardised measures across different samples may be attributable to differences in variances compared to differences in effects (Blalock, 1961, 1968; Tukey, 1954; Wright, 1960; Turner & Stevens, 1959). Standardised path coefficients can be used only to compare the effects of independent variables on a dependent variable in a path analysis computed on a single sample (Schoenberg, 1972). In the present research,

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as the units of measurement for each variable were identical for both samples, any differences in parameters cannot be attributable to differences in measuring units.

### *Black Union Members*

Regression analyses for the just identified model (see Figure 4.3) produced an  $R^2$  of 0.60 for the dependent variable, formal participation in union activities at Time 2, indicating that 60% of the variance in Formal Participation was accounted for by the nine variables in the model (Table 5.8 presents standardised and unstandardised regression weights for the full model).

Three of the nine hypothesised relations between predictor variables and formal participation were supported: (a) Union Loyalty was positively related to formal participation in union activities; (b) Perceived Union Instrumentality was positively related to Formal Participation; and (c) Early Union Socialisation experiences were also found to be positively related to participation in union activities. The variables which did not conform to the hypothesised relations in the just-identified model were Extrinsic Satisfaction, Intrinsic Satisfaction, Job Involvement, Life Satisfaction, Marxist-related beliefs and Work Ethic beliefs.

Exogenous variables accounted for 76% of the variance of Union Loyalty. The standardised regression coefficients for the regression with Union Loyalty as the dependent variable are presented in Table 5.9.

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Table 5.8

*Standardised and unstandardised parameter estimates for regression analysis of full model for black union members.*

<i>Dependent Variable and Predictors</i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>
Formal Participation	0.60				
Union Loyalty	0.57	0.57	0.76	56.61**	0.66
Union Instrumentality	0.58	0.01	0.10	1.89*	0.06
Extrinsic Satisfaction	0.58	0.00	-0.04	0.40	-0.02
Intrinsic Satisfaction	0.58	0.00	-0.05	0.23	-0.02
Union Socialisation	0.59	0.01	0.15	4.39**	0.08
Job Involvement	0.60	0.01	-0.07	1.00	-0.02
Life Satisfaction	0.60	0.00	-0.04	0.36	-0.01
Marxist Beliefs	0.60	0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.00
Work Ethic Beliefs	0.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$

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Table 5.9

*Standardised and unstandardised parameter estimates for regression analysis with Union Loyalty as dependent variable.*

<i>Dependent Variable and Predictors</i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>
Union Loyalty	0.76				
Union Instrumentality	0.07	0.07	0.35	40.50**	0.22
Extrinsic Satisfaction	0.07	0.03	-0.19	8.53**	-0.09
Intrinsic Satisfaction	0.40	0.30	-0.25	10.53**	-0.11
Union Socialisation	0.45	0.05	0.24	22.59**	0.14
Job Involvement	0.47	0.02	-0.21	14.91**	-0.07
Life Satisfaction	0.53	0.07	-0.07	1.58	-0.02
Marxist Beliefs	0.76	0.23	0.14	8.01**	0.05
Work Ethic Beliefs	0.76	0.00	-0.02	0.09	-0.01

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$

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Table 5.9

*Standardised and unstandardised parameter estimates for regression analysis with Union Loyalty as dependent variable.*

<i>Dependent Variable and Predictors</i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>
Union Loyalty	0.76				
Union Instrumentality	0.07	0.07	0.35	40.50**	0.22
Extrinsic Satisfaction	0.07	0.03	-0.19	8.53**	-0.09
Intrinsic Satisfaction	0.40	0.30	-0.25	10.53**	-0.11
Union Socialisation	0.45	0.05	0.24	22.59**	0.14
Job Involvement	0.47	0.02	-0.21	14.91**	-0.07
Life Satisfaction	0.53	0.07	-0.07	1.58	-0.02
Marxist Beliefs	0.76	0.23	0.14	8.01**	0.05
Work Ethic Beliefs	0.76	0.00	-0.02	0.09	-0.01

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$

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Six of the eight hypothesised relations in the path model were confirmed: Union Loyalty was found to be positively related to (a) Perceived Union Instrumentality, (b) Early Socialisation Experiences with the union, and (c) Marxist-related work beliefs; and negatively related to (d) Intrinsic Satisfaction with one's job, (e) Extrinsic Job Satisfaction, and (f) Job Involvement.

Although the  $F$  test for the regression coefficients for Life Satisfaction was not found to be significant at the 0.05 significance level, it was still regarded as a "meaningful" path ( $R^2$  change = 0.067,  $\beta \geq 0.05$ ). Billings and Wroten (1978) have highlighted a number of potential problems with the use of the binary  $F$  test; (a) the use of large samples often means that effects which are trivially small are found to be statistically significant; (b) erroneous conclusions may be drawn from the  $F$  test if multicollinearity exists; and (c) whereas nonsignificant direct effects would be deleted using the  $F$  test, similar nonsignificant indirect paths, constituted by significant direct effects, would be retained.

The path equations for the just or exactly identified model (Figure 4.2) are presented in Appendix E. These equations have been decomposed into Direct and Indirect Effects, Unanalysed Effects due to correlated causes, and Spurious effects due to common causes (Pedhazur, 1982). The correlation matrix for the just identified model is presented in Table 5.10 on the left hand side.

In order to test the overidentified model depicted in Figure 4.3, seven paths were deleted. All these paths were found to have



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Table 5.10

*Observed and reproduced composite correlations for the just- and overidentified models for black union members.*

	<i>Just Identified</i>		<i>Overidentified</i>	
	<i>Model</i>		<i>Model</i>	
	<i>Union</i>	<i>Formal</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>Formal</i>
	<i>Loyalty</i>	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Loyalty</i>	<i>Participation</i>
Union Instrumentality	0.61	0.28	0.61	0.30
Extrinsic Satisfaction	-0.34	-0.22	-0.32	-0.23
Intrinsic Satisfaction	-0.68	-0.44	-0.67	-0.43
Union Socialisation	0.57	0.24	0.56	0.25
Job Involvement	-0.44	-0.37	-0.43	-0.32
Life Satisfaction	-0.35	0.15	-0.33	-0.17
Marxist Beliefs	0.56	0.27	0.55	0.28
Work Ethic Beliefs	-0.39	-0.14	-0.37	-0.17
Union Loyalty		0.57		0.58

direct effects (or  $\beta$  weights) of practically zero, or were not deemed meaningful (see Tables 5.8 and 5.9). The path correlations/coefficients were then reconstructed substituting  $p_{101} = 0$ ,  $p_{102} = 0$ ,  $p_{103} = 0$ ,  $p_{104} = 0$ ,  $p_{105} = 0$ ,  $p_{107} = 0$ , and  $p_{108} = 0$  (see Figure 4.3). The path correlations for the overidentified model are presented in Table 5.10 on the right hand side. As can be seen, with the above seven paths set to zero, relatively small discrepancies ( $< 0.05$ ) were found between the original and reproduced correlations. Consequently, it was concluded that the overidentified causal model depicted in Figure 4.3 fitted the data.

A further test of this causal model was carried out. Using the proportions of the observed and reproduced correlation matrices it was possible to calculate a chi-squared statistic with degrees of freedom ( $df$ ) equal to the number of overidentifying restrictions, which is the number of paths deleted. Specht (1975) and Pedhazur (1982) stipulate that to test an overidentified model it is necessary to calculate  $R^2_m$  which is the generalised squared multiple correlation for the fully recursive, just-identified model.

$$R^2_m = 1 - (1 - R^2_1)(1 - R^2_2) \dots (1 - R^2_p)$$

where  $R^2_i$  is the ordinary squared multiple correlation coefficient of the  $i^{th}$  equation in a fully recursive system (Pedhazur, 1982, p.121). For an overidentified model an analogous statistic to  $R^2_m$  can be calculated with the exception that some of the paths have been deleted.

$$M = 1 - (1 - R^2_1)(1 - R^2_2) \dots (1 - R^2_p)$$

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If the fit between the just-identified and overidentified model is perfect, then  $R^2_M = M$ . Pedhazur (1982) states, therefore, that a measure of goodness of fit for an overidentified model is,

$$Q = \frac{1 - R^2_M}{1 - M}$$

The closer  $Q$  is to one, the closer the fit.  $Q$  can be tested for significance as follows;

$$W = -(N - d)\log.Q$$

where  $N$  is equal to the size of the sample and  $d$  is the number of overidentifying restrictions.  $W$  has an approximate  $\chi^2$  distribution with  $df = d$  (Pedhazur, 1982).

With the present sample of 169 black union members,

$$R^2_M = 1 - (1 - 0.7627)(1 - 0.5979) = 0.9046$$

$$\text{and } M = 1 - (1 - 0.7624)(1 - 0.5913) = 0.9029$$

The measure of goodness of fit, therefore, is;

$$Q = \frac{1 - 0.9046}{1 - 0.9029} = 0.9825$$

To test  $Q$ ,  $W$  was calculated as follows,

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$$W = -(169 - 7)\log 0.9825 = 2.86$$

That is  $\chi^2$  is equal to 2.86 with seven degrees of freedom. This  $\chi^2$  is between the  $p = 0.90$  and  $p = 0.80$  tabled values of  $\chi^2$ . It was therefore concluded that the overidentified model presented in Figure 4.3 fitted the data.

To summarise, the strongest predictors of formal participation amongst black union members were attitudes of union commitment (Union Loyalty) and early socialisation experiences. The perceived instrumentality of the union in attaining valued outcomes was also a significant cause of behavioural involvement in union affairs. Alienation was found to have a meaningful, but insignificant, causal relationship with participation in the union. With regard to the causes of union loyalty, perceived union instrumentality was the strongest determinant followed by early socialisation experiences. Other significant causes included job alienation, extrinsic and intrinsic job dissatisfaction, and support of Marxist-related work values. Although dissatisfaction with aspects of one's life was not a significant cause of affective commitment it was nevertheless meaningful. A significant result was that dissatisfaction with the noneconomic and intrinsic aspects of the job were more important determinants of loyalty than extrinsic, economic job dissatisfaction.

### *White Union Members*

Regression analyses for the just identified model (Figure 4.2) of commitment to the union were calculated for the sample of white union members. Forty-six percent of the variance of Formal

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Table 5.11

*Standardised and unstandardised parameter estimates for regression analysis of full model for white union members.*

<i>Dependent Variable and Predictors</i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>
<b>Formal Participation</b>					
Union Loyalty	0.38	0.38	0.24	3.79**	0.23
Union Instrumentality	0.43	0.05	0.23	5.36**	0.13
Extrinsic Satisfaction	0.43	0.00	-0.07	0.59	-0.03
Intrinsic Satisfaction	0.43	0.00	-0.04	0.21	-0.02
Union Socialisation	0.45	0.02	0.19	2.55*	0.10
Job Involvement	0.46	0.01	0.05	0.43	0.02
Life Satisfaction	0.46	0.00	-0.07	0.68	-0.02
Marxist Beliefs	0.46	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Work Ethic Beliefs	0.46	0.00	0.07	1.01	0.05

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$

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Participation at Time 2 was explained by the nine variables. Standardised and unstandardised regression weights for the full model are presented in Table 5.11.

Again, three of the hypothesised variables were found to have statistically significant relations with participation in formal union activities. Union Loyalty, Perceived Union Instrumentality, and Early Socialisation Experiences were found to be positively related to Formal Participation.

The eight exogenous variables accounted for a high percentage of the variance of Union Loyalty (71%). The standardised and unstandardised regression parameters for the regression equation are presented in Table 5.12.

Six of the eight hypothesised relations in the just-identified path model were confirmed; (a) Perceived Union Instrumentality was positively related to Union Loyalty; (b) Extrinsic Satisfaction was negatively related to Union Loyalty; (c) Early Socialisation Experiences were positively related to Union Loyalty; (d) Job Involvement was positively related to Union Loyalty; (e) Life Satisfaction was negatively related to Union Loyalty; and (f) Work Ethic beliefs were positively related to Union Loyalty. The path correlations for the just-identified model for the white sample are presented in Table 5.13 on the left hand side. Eight overidentifying restrictions were then imposed by deleting eight paths to reproduce the overidentified model depicted in Figure 4.4.

The reproduced path correlations for this model are presented on the right hand side in Table 5.13. As can be seen, five of



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Table 5.12

*Standardised and unstandardised parameter estimates for regression analysis with Union Loyalty as dependent variable.*

<i>Dependent Variable and Predictors</i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>
Union Loyalty	0.71				
Union Instrumentality	0.40	0.40	0.20	7.81**	0.11
Extrinsic Satisfaction	0.65	0.25	-0.43	29.55**	-0.17
Intrinsic Satisfaction	0.65	0.00	-0.02	0.06	-0.01
Union Socialisation	0.68	0.03	0.19	8.62**	0.11
Job Involvement	0.68	0.00	0.08	2.08*	0.03
Life Satisfaction	0.70	0.02	0.18	9.46**	0.05
Marxist Beliefs	0.70	0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.00
Work Ethic Beliefs	0.71	0.01	0.12	3.87**	0.09

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$

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Table 5.13

*Observed and reproduced composite correlations for the just- and overidentified models.*

	<i>Just Identified</i>		<i>Overidentified</i>	
	<i>Model</i>		<i>Model</i>	
	<i>Union</i>	<i>Formal</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>Formal</i>
	<i>Loyalty</i>	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Loyalty</i>	<i>Participation</i>
Union Instrumentality	0.34	0.37	0.34	0.37
Extrinsic Satisfaction	-0.63	-0.51	-0.64	-0.42*
Intrinsic Satisfaction	-0.32	-0.27	-0.33	-0.23
Union Socialisation	0.29	0.08	0.29	0.03*
Job Involvement	-0.11	-0.02	-0.12	-0.05
Life Satisfaction	0.54	0.42	0.54	0.32**
Marxist Beliefs	0.38	0.30	0.39	0.26
Work Ethic Beliefs	0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.01*
Union Loyalty		0.55		0.49*

\* The difference between the observed and reproduced correlations is greater than 0.05

\*\* The difference between the observed and reproduced correlations is greater than 0.01

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the possible 17 reproduced correlations differed by more than 0.05 from the observed correlations. This would appear to suggest that the data does not fit the overidentified model. The reason for this may be due to the deletion of paths which were not statistically significant but which were meaningful (i.e.,  $\beta \geq 0.05$ ). There were three such paths (see Table 5.11).<sup>7</sup> However, the  $\chi^2$  goodness of fit scale suggested by Specht (1975) and Pedhazur (1982) provided a contrary indication. The  $Q$  ratio for white union members was calculated as follows,

$$Q = \frac{1 - R^2_m}{1 - M} = \frac{1 - 0.847}{1 - 0.831} = \frac{0.153}{0.169} = 0.9053$$

which is close to unity. Testing for significance

$$W = -(N - d)\log_e Q = -(139 - 8)\log_e 0.9053 = 13.03$$

That is  $\chi^2 = 13.03$  with  $df = 8$ . This value is less than the tabulated value for  $p = 0.10$ . It can therefore be concluded that the model with overidentifying restrictions fitted the data.

To conclude then, the most important and significant determinants of behavioural participation in union activities amongst white union members were attitudes of union loyalty (commitment), perceived union instrumentality and early socialisation experiences. This pattern was identical to that found amongst

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<sup>7</sup> Adopting an exploratory approach to path analysis, non-deletion of these paths produced a correlation matrix whose reproduced elements did not differ by more than 0.05 from the observed correlations. This suggests that the deletion of five paths would satisfy the present criterion for goodness of fit.

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African workers. The major, significant causes of attitudes of affective commitment were dissatisfaction with economic or extrinsic aspects of the job, satisfaction with general aspects of one's life, early union socialisation experiences, strong perceptions of union instrumentality, a belief in the Work Ethic, and involvement in one's job.

There were differences between the black and white samples in both the nature (negative or positive) and strength (unstandardised regression weights) of the relationships between the antecedent variables and union commitment (see Table 5.14).

For example, amongst white workers dissatisfaction with extrinsic aspects of the job were more important determinants of union loyalty than for their African counterparts. Furthermore, whereas greater job involvement caused stronger positive attitudes of union commitment amongst white members, job alienation (or noninvolvement) was found to facilitate loyalty to the union amongst black workers. Also, the belief in a Protestant Work Ethic was a causal predictor of commitment for white subjects, but amongst black union members there was a stronger adherence to Marxist-related beliefs and it was these work beliefs which determined union loyalty/commitment. Explanations for the agreements and anomalies in these results will be discussed in the next chapter.

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Table 5.14  
T-tests between black and white union members on the study variables.

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	Degrees of Freedom	t value
<i>Union Instrumentality</i>					
Whites	138	25.80	5.82	303	1.06
Blacks	167	26.46	4.94		
<i>Extrinsic Job Satisfaction</i>					
Whites	138	25.84	8.34	301	2.97*
Blacks	165	23.25	6.52		
<i>Intrinsic Job Satisfaction</i>					
Whites	139	22.78	5.65	302	3.80*
Blacks	165	19.98	7.20		
<i>Early Socialisation Experiences</i>					
Whites	137	25.66	6.12	302	0.80
Blacks	167	25.12	5.05		
<i>Job Involvement</i>					
Whites	138	33.83	7.55	303	2.63*
Blacks	167	31.32	9.15		
<i>Life Satisfaction</i>					
Whites	139	55.39	12.22	302	8.25**
Blacks	165	44.01	11.78		
<i>Marxist-Related Beliefs</i>					
Whites	139	36.80	8.28	304	2.93*
Blacks	167	39.47	7.64		
<i>Work Ethic Beliefs</i>					
Whites	139	22.16	4.42	304	0.56
Blacks	167	21.87	4.90		
<i>Union Loyalty</i>					
Whites	139	23.63	4.35	306	0.59
Blacks	169	23.88	3.24		
<i>Participation in the Union</i>					
Whites	137	9.80	3.22	300	0.41
Blacks	165	9.65	2.65		

\*  $p < 0.01$

\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## CHAPTER 6

### Toward a model of union commitment.

The research on union commitment has tended to be cross-sectional and correlational in nature. The aim of the present study was to utilise a longitudinal design and a statistical procedure that would enable causal statistical inferences to be made and a process model of union commitment to be developed. It was hypothesised that this model would consist of various personal, role-, and job-related determinants. A further aim was to establish the nature of the relationship between commitment attitudes and commitment related behaviours in order to clarify the consequences of commitment to labour organisations. Finally, it was the purpose of the present investigation to ascertain whether different antecedent variables were predictive of union commitment in different segments of the blue-collar sample.

Union Loyalty<sup>1</sup> was selected as an indicator of attitudes of commitment to the union for several reasons. First, it is a dimension of union commitment which has been shown to be stable across a range of white-collar and blue-collar samples (Barling, 1985; Fullagar, 1986; Gordon *et al.*, 1980, 1984; Ladd *et al.*, 1982). Second, in all these studies, Union Loyalty was found to account for the largest proportion of the variance in union commitment. Thirdly, it is an attitudinal concept which captures essential elements of commitment, namely affective attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the union (Allen & Meyer, 1984; Buchanan, 1974; Kanter, 1969; Mowday *et al.*, 1982;

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<sup>1</sup> The terms union loyalty and union commitment are subsequently used interchangeably. However, it must be noted that loyalty is only one element of commitment, albeit a primary one.



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Porter & Smith, 1970; Steers, 1977), and a willingness to engage in activities over and above those normally required (Buchanan, 1974; Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Schneider, 1985). Finally, it was beyond the scope of the present study to develop process models for all the dimensions of union commitment which have previously been identified. Consequently, that dimension of commitment which has been empirically found to be the most important was selected. A possible direction for research in the future would be to investigate whether the present model is generalisable to other factors of commitment (see Chapter 7).

### *Cross-lagged regression analysis.*

The results of the time-lagged multiple regression analyses indicate that attitudes of affective commitment to the union are causal predictors of behavioural participation in essential and formal union activities. This result generalised across both samples of black and white union members. The finding supports Ajzen and Fishbein's (1977) contention that when there is a high degree of conceptual correspondence between attitudes and behaviour, attitudes will predict behaviours. Specifically, the individual's commitment attitudes to the labour organisation predict behavioural participation in union activities. Although self-reported measures of behaviour were utilised, these can be regarded as acceptable behavioural criteria (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977) especially as, in the present instance, it would have been difficult or impossible to obtain direct measures of such behavioural participation as attendance at meetings, grievance-filing, voting behaviour and knowledge of the labour-management agreement, as attendance registers are not kept by the union and grievance and voting records are anonymous.

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Nevertheless, the correspondence between these self-report measures and independent assessments of members' behavioural activities have been found to be satisfactory (see Chapter 3).

As all previous studies on union commitment have been correlational in nature (Gordon *et al.*, 1980, 1984; Ladd *et al.*, 1982; Fukami & Larson, 1984) and have viewed commitment as a dependent variable, little is known concerning the consequences of union commitment. The present results, therefore, have important implications with respect to (a) the development of a model of union commitment, and (b) the concept of union democracy and power.

The finding that attitudes of commitment to the union cause greater behavioural participation in union activities lends credence to Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) observation that union commitment "is a part of the very fabric of unions" (p.480) and is influential in determining voluntary performance in activities which ensure the union's attainment of its goals. Various studies which have investigated the predictors of a number of union-related behaviours such as voting behaviour (DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Farber & Saks, 1980; Hamner & Smith, 1978; Schriesheim, 1978; Zalesny, 1985) and grievance-filing (Allen & Keaveny, 1985; Dalton & Todor, 1979, 1982; Sulkin & Pranis, 1967) have failed to take into account the importance of union commitment as an antecedent, independent variable.

An analysis of the test-retest reliability of union commitment, as measured by the union loyalty scores, revealed a fair degree of stability in commitment over the eight month period. Those members who were most committed at Time 1 were also most com-

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mitted to the labour organisation at Time 2. This finding is consistent with the suggestion of Mowday *et al.* (1982) that there may be individual differences in the propensity to become committed. This propensity for commitment may reflect differences in the personal characteristics of the member, and/or differences in the conditions surrounding their socialisation into the union, as well as job-related factors. These possibilities are discussed below.

Another possible explanation for the relative stability of commitment scores, however, is that members differed in the extent of their participation in union activities and that those individuals who were most actively involved in union affairs at Time 1 were also the most participative at Time 2. Thus, consistency in formal union participation rather than, or in addition to, differences in personal, role-, and job-related factors may account for the stability of commitment. Consistent with this latter explanation is the fact that ratings of participation in formal union activities were also highly reliable (*i.e.*, consistent) over time and the correlations between commitment and formal participation were significant for both samples and at both time periods.

However, an examination of the mean Union Loyalty and Formal Participation scores over the two administrations revealed that despite the relative stability of commitment and behavioural participation (*i.e.*, stability in the relative position of individuals within the sample), there was a significant increase in union loyalty over the eight months of the study (*white members*,  $t(138) = 8.84$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ; *black members*,  $t(168) = 15.94$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This change in commitment was accompanied by a cor-

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responding increase in the level of participation in union affairs (*white members*,  $t(138) = 11.10$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ; *black members*,  $t(168) = 20.19$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This was probably attributable to the fact that the research survey itself provided the union members with an opportunity to express their attitudes and was an indication that the union was concerned with understanding and fulfilling its membership's expectations. Others have suggested that when experiences live up to expectations, attitudes tend to consequently improve (cf. Hall, 1976; Wanous, 1980).

The finding that commitment scores correlated significantly with the length of affiliation with the union ( $r = 0.14$ ,  $p = 0.008$ ) supports Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) results and provides further corroboration to research which has found an association between tenure and commitment (e.g., Fukami & Larson, 1984; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1972; Lee, 1971; Sheldon, 1971). With respect to previous longitudinal studies of commitment to organisations, the results here differ from Meyer and Allen's (1985) findings that organisational commitment had no "causal" effect on self-report measures of work behaviour. This may be due to several factors. Firstly, the discrepancy may be due to the differences in the samples studied. Meyer and Allen examined organisational commitment in recently employed graduates in their first nine months of employment. The present research studied union commitment in a group of blue-collar workers whose average tenure with the labour organisation was 7.75 ( $SD = 3.82$ ) years. Consequently it is possible that the union members attitudes toward the union were reasonably well developed and they had had greater exposure to union-related activities. Secondly, as Meyer and Allen suggest, early attitudes of commitment (e.g., in the first nine months of joining an organisation) have been found to be

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particularly volatile (Mowday *et al.*, 1982) and consequently may be better predictors of short- as opposed to long-term behaviour. With the union members in the present study, commitment attitudes had had far longer to stabilise and were better predictors of behaviour.

Although the findings in the present study are generally consistent with investigations of organisational commitment (e.g., Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1972; Koch & Steers, 1978; Larson & Fukami, 1974; Mowday *et al.*, 1974, 1979; Steers, 1977; Van Maanen, 1975), they go beyond these studies in that they permit inferences about causality to be made. To examine the causal effects of union commitment on behavioural participation, cross-lagged correlation and cross-lagged multiple regression analyses were performed on the longitudinal data. These analyses were consistent in demonstrating the causal effects of commitment to labour organisations on participation and involvement in union activities. Union commitment was found to have a significant effect on behavioural participation regardless of the procedure employed or the sample of blue-collar workers. These findings are consistent with the prediction that affective commitment contributes to the development of behavioural indices of commitment and they lend support to the theoretical causal presumptions behind attitudinal approaches to commitment (Angle & Perry, 1983; Buchanan, 1975; Crampon *et al.*, 1978; Ferris & Aranya, 1983; Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Porter *et al.*, 1974, 1976; Porter & Smith, 1970). More specifically, the results indicate the causal direction of the previously ascertained correlative relationship between commitment to the union and union participation (Gordon *et al.*, 1980), and that



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the association between these two variables is generalisable from white-collar employees to blue-collar workers.

The present findings shed some light on Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) dilemma as to "whether participation in union affairs was responsible for engendering commitment or whether a feeling of loyalty to the union produced the willingness to be active in union affairs" (p.494). The results, however, do contradict Gordon *et al.*'s findings in a small matter. The earlier research indicated an insignificant regression parameter between the "Union Loyalty" dimension of commitment and participation in recent union activities such as voting, attendance at meetings, knowledge of the union contract and grievance filing.<sup>2</sup> This discrepancy may be due to two factors. First, the differences in the type of union and the occupational status of their members may explain the discrepancy. Gordon *et al.* (1980) investigated white-collar workers whose need satisfaction (i.e., for better wages, job security, autonomy, participation and so forth) could probably be fulfilled by mechanisms other than the union. In the present instance the blue-collar sample had less recourse to these mechanisms and were therefore more reliant on the union for the satisfaction of their needs. This would be likely to facilitate stronger feelings of attachment and attitudes of loyalty. Second, there were differences in the constitution of the Union Loyalty factor between the two studies. In Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) study Union Loyalty not only indicated a sense of pride in being a member of the union, but also reflected

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<sup>2</sup> Responsibility to the Union, as in Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) study, was found to correlate highly with union participation at both Time 1 and Time 2 in both samples (Range  $r = 0.58 - 0.61$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ).



instrumentality beliefs concerning the union's potential for satisfying membership needs. These perceptions of the instrumental function of the labour organisation were not as strongly highlighted in the present study (see Chapter 3).

To summarise, the cross-lagged regression analysis of the data suggests that attitudes of union loyalty (an indicator of union commitment) predict participation in union activities. This would appear to contradict Stagner's (1956) contention that union members may be loyal to the union without actively participating in its affairs. If commitment causes greater participation in union activities, then it is an important variable in achieving union democracy. Tannenbaum and Kahn (1958) show a positive correlation between the participation of the rank and file in union activity and its control over the union. Also, Anderson (1978) has defined union democracy as the extent of membership participation in the union and points out that,

Participation has been stressed ..... because it is seen as reflecting the existence of majority rule at union meetings, a check on the oligarchic tendencies of union leadership and a means of sensitising leaders to the problems of members. (Anderson, 1978, p.279).

Commitment, then, becomes a crucial area of investigation when considering the effectiveness of labour organisations in achieving a democratic ethos. After all, unions are democratic organisations whose effectiveness is often gauged in terms of the extent that democratic procedure is followed (Tannenbaum, 1965). Furthermore, many union processes entail collective action such as local meetings, bargaining sessions, and strikes. The union's power is strongly dependent on its ability to impose or threaten the imposition of sanctions through boycotts, strikes or slowdowns. Consequently, commitment and subsequent

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participation are not only sources of solidarity and an indication of democracy but also the basis of the union's authority.

### *Path analysis results.*

Union commitment has recently been proposed as an important variable in the investigation of processes which occur in trade unions (Gordon & Burt, 1981; Gordon *et al.*, 1980). However no studies exist which have employed a multivariate, longitudinal approach to assess the antecedents and outcomes of union commitment. The present study, therefore, used a path analytic model that incorporated the behavioural consequences of commitment to the union as well as various hypothesised antecedents. Consequently, the study attempted to provide a better understanding of the relationships that lead to union commitment and their behavioural effects. The data suggest that union commitment was affected by perceived union instrumentality, extrinsic and intrinsic job dissatisfaction, early union socialisation experiences, alienation and job involvement, general life satisfaction and work beliefs.

The results of the present study are presented in summary form in Figure 6.1. Only significant predictors are included. The unstandardised regression coefficients for black subjects are presented above the arrowed lines and those for white subjects below the line. Unstandardised coefficients are depicted to enable comparisons between the two samples (Pedhazur, 1982; Schoenberg, 1972). The results suggest the following conclusions regarding the antecedent variables of union commitment.

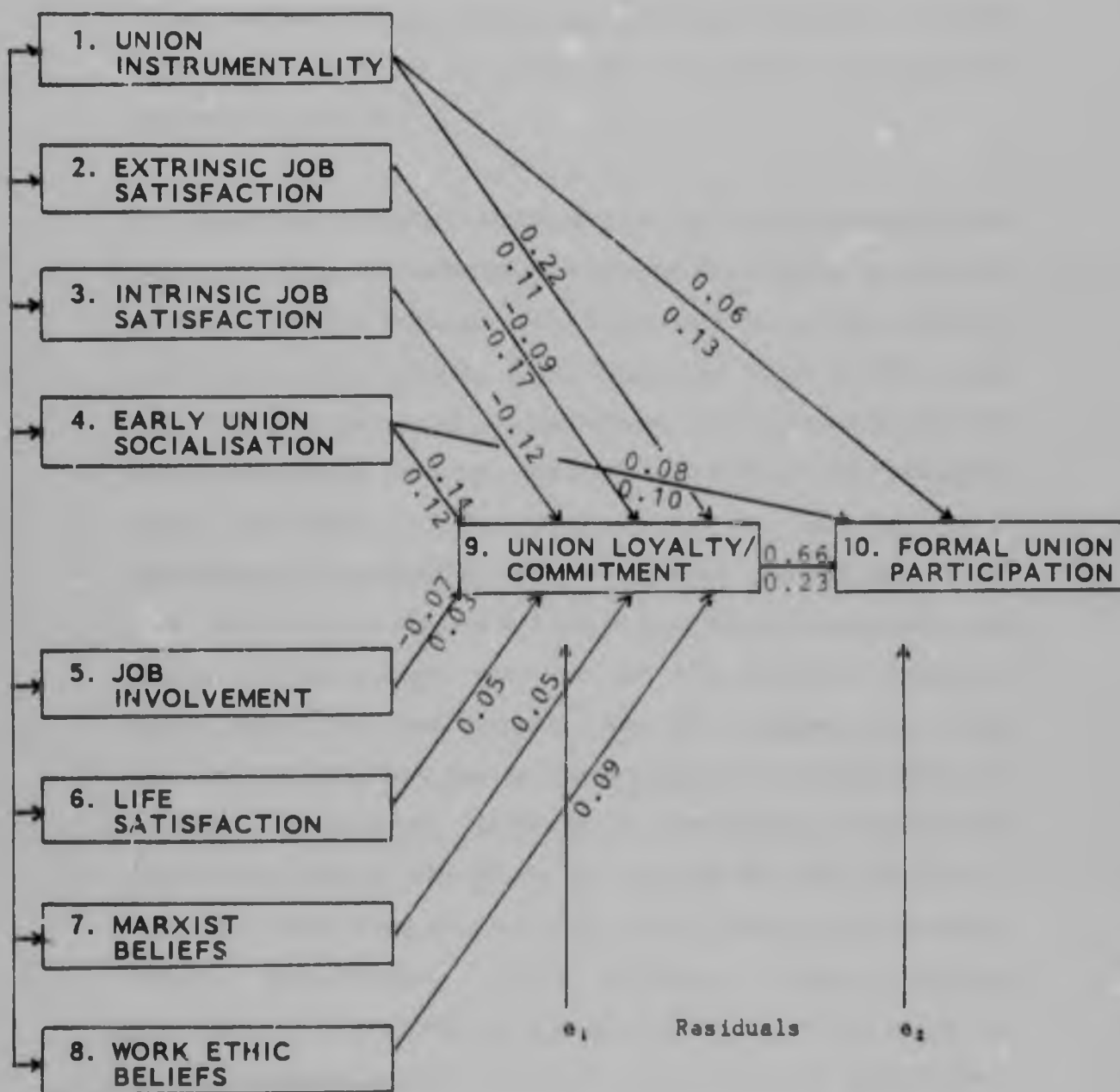


Figure 6.1.: Model showing unstandardised path coefficients for black and white subjects.

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In both black and white samples, the perception of the instrumentality of the union in achieving certain goals was found to be a significant and strong predictor of both loyalty/commitment to the union and behavioural participation in union activities.

The importance of union instrumentality as a determinant of both union attitudes and behaviours supports the results of previous research (Beutell & Biggs, 1984; Bigoness & Tosi, 1984; DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Kochan, 1979; Youngblood *et al.*, 1984) which has found a strong relationship between instrumentality beliefs and propensity to unionise, positive union vote, and favourable union attitudes. The scale used to measure union instrumentality primarily assessed members' perceptions of the union's ability to achieve extrinsic benefits. Consequently, the essence of the present findings and the previous literature would seem to lend support to the argument of those institutionalists who see labour organisations as existing to represent the economic interests of their constituents and believe that workers join unions in order to increase the likelihood that these interests will be served (DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981). Nevertheless, the individual member becomes psychologically attached to the union and involved in union activities because he/she perceives the union to be instrumental to the attainment of personally valent outcomes. This corroborates with previous research which has shown that the instrumental perceptions of the union as an extraorganisational institution for the attainment of valent goals, as opposed to either extrinsic or intrinsic job satisfaction, are more predictive of union support among both white-collar and blue-collar workers (Kochan, 1979).

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Comparing the unstandardised regression coefficients for the two samples, union instrumentality is a stronger determinant of attitudes of union commitment amongst black members ( $B$  (black members) = 0.216;  $B$  (white members) = 0.114). However, perceptions of union instrumentality are more important causal predictors of behavioural involvement in union activities amongst white workers ( $B$  (white members) = 0.128;  $B$  (black members) = 0.056). In other words, participation amongst white workers is more dependent on the perception of the union as being instrumental in satisfying various *extrinsic* needs, such as for better wages, job security and working conditions. This is supported by the finding that dissatisfaction with the extrinsic characteristics of the job is a more important predictor of union commitment amongst white workers in comparison to black union members.

One of the limitations of the present study was the inadequate conceptualisation of union instrumentality. As mentioned above, the scale utilised here was similar to Kochan's (1978) and DeCotiis and LeLouarn's (1981) in that it focused exclusively on extrinsic outcomes such as pay, security, working conditions, benefits and fair treatment. This would seem to support those theorists who believe that individual involvement in unions is a calculative rather than a moral one. The above findings, however, may be an artefact of the studies being conducted in America where workers have been described as having "a very strong proclivity for independence and individuality" (Kochan, 1980, p.146), and where the emphasis is on business unionism. The extrinsic operationalisation of instrumentality may be a deficient one in the context of South Africa where many workers perceive unions as being instrumental to achieving more intrin-

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sic outcomes, such as the improvement of worker rights and dignity, greater control over the work process, participation in decision making, political redress, and so forth (Schlemmer, 1985; Webster, 1979). Increasingly, agreements are being negotiated at the bargaining table which cover such non-wage related issues as retrenchment, child care facilities, pensions, health and safety (Piron, 1984). Nonetheless, union support would appear to be influenced by workers' understanding of collective action and their beliefs concerning the relative values and likelihood of the positive versus negative outcomes of unionisation. As will be discussed below, results of the study suggest that, for certain types of blue-collar worker, more intrinsically oriented outcomes, such as control over the content of work, participation in decision making, and so forth may be important. These outcomes appear to be especially important amongst more disenfranchised and alienated workers. It is important, therefore, to distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic instrumentality beliefs as these may be orthogonal factors (Barling & Milligan, 1986).

Barling and Milligan (1986) have emphasised the importance of introducing a valence factor when measuring the perceived instrumentality of the union in satisfying both intrinsic and extrinsic work aspects. Drawing upon the expectancy of model of Vroom (1964), several researchers have recently emphasised the importance of expectancy and valence perceptions (Allen & Keaveny, 1983; Barling and Milligan, 1986). Valence perceptions relate to the relative importance of the outcomes the union is perceived as attaining. Expectancy feelings refer to the worker's estimate that effort expended in union activities will lead to desired outcomes. Although a great deal of research has



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been generated from Vroom's work (for reviews see Campbell & Pritchard, 1976; Heneman & Schwab, 1972; Mitchell, 1982), especially with respect to organisational behaviour and employee performance, little empirical research (with the exception of Barling and Milligan, 1986) has been done on union-related behaviours and attitudes. Applying expectancy-value theory to the decision to unionise, willingness to participate in union activities has been found to relate to the perceived costs and benefits of participation (Klandermans, 1984). Research in South Africa would have to include in these costs such external factors as the use of repressive measures by the organisation (e.g., victimisation, selective firing and rehiring) and the State (e.g., detention and trial of trade union officials) (Cooper, Shindler, McCaul & Robomo, 1984). Further research, therefore, should concentrate on the interactive effects of union instrumentality, valence attached to outcomes and expectancy perceptions, and their predictive effects on both attitudes of commitment to the union and union related performance.

The results of the present study seem to confirm the importance of perceptions of instrumentality in terms of the development of positive attitudes toward the union and involvement in union activities. Specifically, it would appear that individuals become more loyal to the union when they see it as being instrumental in the satisfaction of their extrinsic needs. Moreover, whereas previous research has concentrated on the association between instrumentality and voting behaviour (especially in decertification elections), the present research found a more global measure of union-related behaviours to be associated with union instrumentality perceptions. These behaviours included attendance at meetings, committee membership, the holding of

office, knowledge of the agreement, grievance filing behaviour, as well as voting behaviour. It must be remembered, however, that the covariation between union instrumentality and union commitment and formal participation is only suggestive (and not indispensable proof) of causal linkages. The data here confirms a causal model in that it is consistent with the explanatory scheme outlined in the introduction. It is possible, however, that the data are consistent with other, competing models.

Further research is necessary to assess the perceptions of union members regarding their union's ability to satisfy intrinsic needs and the association between these perceptions and union commitment. Also, future research would do well to move away from the tendency to investigate instrumentality as an independent variable and ascertain what the determinants of extrinsic and intrinsic union instrumentality are. Such research would provide labour organisations with valuable guidelines with which they could establish positive instrumentality perceptions and consequently greater membership commitment and involvement.

In addition, the present study did not investigate the causal relationships between the exogenous variables in the model. A possible pointer for future research would be to ascertain the applicability of DeCotiis and LeLouarn's (1981) model of union instrumentality. For example, do instrumentality perceptions act as catalytic intermediaries between various personal and work-related characteristics and union commitment? It may be that dissatisfaction with the work environment causes the worker to become more committed to the union when the latter is perceived as being instrumental in improving conditions of work, especially in cases in which management has been unresponsive

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or noninstrumental. The issue, then, is not simply one of relating variables such as extrinsic job satisfaction to the union commitment process, but of assessing their effect on instrumentality perceptions. Dissatisfaction, then, with either intrinsic or extrinsic factors is not sufficient reason for union support, but may initiate a search for alternative channels for reducing dissatisfaction other than those provided by the formal organisation. Whether the worker chooses to support the union depends on the desire for participation, the availability of other sources of satisfaction, and the perceived instrumentality of the union. As Youngblood *et al.* (1981) point out, in order for members to support a union, they must be dissatisfied, believe the union can lead to improvement, and generally perceive unions in a positive light.

With respect to the development of theories of organisational commitment, little attention has been paid to perceived instrumentality as an antecedent variable (Mowday *et al.*, 1982). The findings from the present study suggest that future research should include instrumentality as an important factor leading to the development of both commitment attitudes and committed behaviours.

Finally, the finding that there were insignificant differences in the levels of instrumentality beliefs between black and white workers requires discussion. With regard to race, South African craft-diluted unions have a history of racial discrimination. African workers have been excluded from membership (often with the help of State legislation) in order to prevent the deskilling and dilution of crafts. It would be expected, therefore, that the instrumental expectations of black workers of craft-diluted

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unions would be significantly less than those of white workers. However, the data here suggest that the subject union's strong egalitarian policies and support for nonracial unions, together with the inclusion of African members has had a positive influence on the perceptions of the union amongst black workers. This is corroborated by the continued growth of African membership since 1980.<sup>1</sup>

Recent years have seen an increasing number of studies of workers which deal with differences in preferences among various forms of economic and noneconomic rewards. This research has been mainly conducted on American labour and indicates that these workers perceive unions as a form of security rather than a social movement or an instrument in the class struggle (Strauss, 1977). Research in South Africa indicates that black workers encourage their union into taking political positions and economic activity frequently is secondary (Schlemmer, 1984). For example, Lewis and Randall (1985) have noted that the new Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU),

...will be called on to play a political role. COSATU can be expected not only to fight for immediate improvements in wages and conditions, but also to add its weight to the call for more fundamental political and social change...it will help mould the future political terrain - linking struggles against economic exploitation with resistance to racial oppression. (p.12)

Empirical studies on attitudes have focused on relationships between job satisfaction and voting behaviour in union representation elections (DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Getman *et al.*, 1976; Hamner & Smith, 1978; Herman, 1973; Kochan, 1979; Martin,

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<sup>1</sup> In 1980, black union membership was 1,266. This had grown to 14,220 by the end of 1985.

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1978; Schriesheim, 1978). These studies have indicated fairly consistent negative correlations between extrinsic facets of job satisfaction and pro-union voting. But, as Berger, Olson and Boudreau (1963) point out, only a small percentage of unionised employees are involved in representation elections and so the samples surveyed in the above research are not really representative of union workers. A survey of the Bureau of Labour statistics over four years and across twenty industries found that the number of workers involved in union elections ranged from 4.03 to 5.13% (Berger *et al.*, 1983). However, several studies have found a relationship between job satisfaction and union membership in national probability samples (cf. Berger *et al.*, 1983; Borjas, 1979; Freeman, 1978; Kochan, 1980).

Dissatisfaction with extrinsic job characteristics was confirmed to be a causal predictor of union commitment amongst both black and white union members. This supports those studies which have found that concern for economic, "bread and butter" issues, such as wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions is strongly related to the unionisation process and union support (e.g., Bigoness, 1978; Brett & Hammer, 1982; Feuille & Blandin, 1974; Schriesheim, 1978). This is especially so amongst the more affluent white workers in the sample where the data indicate that extrinsic job dissatisfaction was the strongest predictor of union loyalty. The result that amongst black union members intrinsic dissatisfaction was a more significant cause of attitudes of commitment corroborates the industrial relations perspective that attachment to unions is a consequence of both dissatisfaction and perceived deprivation (Begin, 1979; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975; Walker & Lawler, 1979).

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One result from previous research which provides a possible guideline for future research on the relationship between job satisfaction and union commitment is the finding that unions which negotiate higher wages increase the wage satisfaction of their members as well as affecting the work values of new members. Berger *et al.* (1983), for example, found that unions had an indirect effect on satisfaction;

Unions had a positive indirect effect on pay satisfaction by increasing values toward pay outcomes, as well as by increasing hourly wages and the probability of receiving several fringe benefits, unions had a negative effect on satisfaction with both supervision and co-worker by altering perceived supervisory behavior. Unions decrease satisfaction with work itself, through decreased task perceptions. Finally, unions decrease promotion satisfaction through negative effects on promotion values. (p.318)

An examination, then, of the pattern of relations between black and white workers in the present study indicates that white workers are more dissatisfied with their physical work conditions, immediate boss, rate of pay, hours of work and job security ( $t(301) = 2.97, p < 0.01$ ) and that amongst these workers extrinsic/economic dissatisfaction is more strongly predictive of attitudinal commitment to the union. For the black workers in the sample, dissatisfaction with the content of their jobs exerted a somewhat greater effect on union commitment than did dissatisfaction with bread and butter aspects of the job. However, dissatisfaction with economic aspects of the job was still a significant predictor of union loyalty amongst African union members. These findings imply that the motivation to unionise and subsequent attachment to the union are influenced by workers' economic work conditions. However, black workers were also more motivated to support the union when dissatisfied with the content, scope and organisation of their jobs.



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Whereas previous research has concentrated on limited union-related phenomenon as dependent variables; attitudes toward unions (Alutto & Belasco, 1974; Stampolis, 1958; Uphoff & Dunnette, 1956), voting intent (Getman *et al.*, 1976; Kochan, 1978), voting behaviour (Getman *et al.*, 1976; Schriesheim, 1978), and union membership (Blinder, 1972; Blum & Solling, 1972; Kornhauser, 1961; Vaid, 1965), the present results indicated a causal link between aspects of job satisfaction/dissatisfaction and a more continuous measure of union attachment. Also, previous research on union commitment and the unionisation process has typically concentrated on such predictors as the extrinsic facets of job satisfaction. The present results indicate that other, more noneconomic and intrinsic, predictors need to be considered when investigating the process of attachment to labour organisations. Other variables, not measured here, may also be powerful predictors. For example, variables such as felt influence, equity perceptions, and leadership style have, with few exceptions (Kochan, 1978; Stampolis, 1958) received little in the way of theoretical or empirical attention.

The finding that dissatisfaction with the extrinsic characteristics of the job was significantly lower amongst black union members ( $t(301) = 2.97, p < 0.01$ ) needs further amplification.

The present research suggests that there are differences in the causes of commitment between different segments of blue-collar workers. These segments are characterised by differences in terms of decision making, compensation, supervision and other job characteristics. Maxey and Mohrman (1980) found influence deprivation and job environment (as well as economic) variables

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associated with union attitudes among white-collar employees; and these attitudes were moderated by hierarchical position.

Kochan (1979) has suggested that dissatisfaction with extrinsic job factors can be due to several factors: (a) working conditions may be perceived as being inadequately administered; (b) absolute levels may be seen as below some acceptable standard or level (e.g., minimum wage level); and (c) perceived inequities between one's own wages and physical work conditions and those of similar others. Perceptions of equity have been found to negatively correlate with propensity to unionise (Kochan, 1979). Research has indicated a relationship between commitment to organisations and perceived pay equity (Rhodes & Steers, 1981). Measures of wage inequity such as perceived underpayment or wage differentials between unionised and nonunionised employees are consistently associated with pro-union attitudes and union membership (Duncan & Stafford, 1980; Farber & Saks, 1980; Lee, 1978; Maxey & Mohrman, 1980).

Although wage inequity as a work experience is unrelated to union commitment (Fukami & Larson, 1984), this relationship may be moderated by occupational status and the nature of the job. For example, perceived inequity in wages is positively and significantly related to the willingness to unionise amongst white-collar workers, but not blue-collar workers (Kochan, 1979). This is despite the fact that dissatisfaction with wages is significantly related to support of the union (Kochan, 1979).

It would appear, therefore, that the relationship between perceived equity and union commitment may differ amongst different types of workers. Consequently, the greater extrinsic dissat-

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isfaction amongst white workers in the present sample could be attributable to stronger perceptions of inequity in comparison to other white workers. The average monthly wage of white workers in the present sample was R1,216 which is considerably less than the mean wage of white workers in the metal and mechanical engineering sectors (Mean salary = R1,619 pm)(Cooper, Shindler, McCaul, Porter & Callum, 1985). Conversely, the significantly lower feelings of extrinsic dissatisfaction amongst black union members may be due to greater perceptions of economic advantage in comparison to black workers not protected by a labour organisation. The mean monthly salary of black union members in the present sample was R637 in comparison to the R310 which is the average wage for African workers in the mechanical engineering and metal industries (Cooper *et al.*, 1985). Freeman and Medoff (1984) have indicated that unionism tends to be a powerful force for the equalisation of earnings especially amongst the economically disadvantaged. Black workers are especially likely to benefit from unions in comparison to white workers. The latter have less need for unions because of higher pay, more freedom on the job and greater job security. The union wage effect is greater for blacks. It has already been argued that black workers in South Africa are politically, socially and economically disadvantaged. However, being a member of a union decreases the disparity between the wages of black and white workers and increases the disparity between the earnings of organised and unorganised workers.

The strong link between intrinsic job satisfaction and union commitment amongst African workers may be related to a stronger desire to influence the content (i.e., the noneconomic factors) of one's job together with the situation that, unlike white

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workers, black employees are unable to influence the noneconomic aspects of their working environment through other more informal, individualistic, or employer-initiated programs. Using Hirschman's (1970) Exit, Voice, and Loyalty framework, white, affluent workers have greater access to the exit-and-entry mechanism due to the greater exercise of freedom of choice and mobility in the South African context. For the majority of black workers, on the other hand, the union "voice" is perhaps the only channel of participation in a democratic process. The higher economic mobility of white male workers in comparison to black workers has been clearly indicated by Miller and Van der Merwe's (1984) survey of labour turnover (LTO) rates and voluntary terminations in the secondary industrial sector in the Eastern Cape (see Table 6.1). The relatively high annual turnover rates and voluntary terminations illustrate the privileged position and greater mobility of white workers in South Africa. Sociologists have hypothesised that the socially mobile differ significantly from the immobile in a variety of attitudes (Lipset & Bendix, 1952). A number of studies suggest relationships between mobility patterns and participation in labour unions (Lipset & Gordon, 1952).

Youngblood *et al.* (1984) have hypothesised that jobs which are low in motivating potential (i.e., limited job scope and low intrinsic satisfaction) should evoke a stronger union vote intention. Present results indicate that although a worker may be satisfied with some features of the work environment (such as extrinsic factors), other features (such as intrinsic facets) may still serve to cause attitudes of union commitment.

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Table 6.1

*LTO rates and percentage voluntary terminations in 28 companies in the Eastern Cape.*

	LTO rates % p.a.	% Voluntary terminations
White males	22.3	86.3
Black males	9.8	47.4

Adapted from Miller & Van der Merwe (1984)

Technological factors and working conditions could account for the differences between black and white workers. Duncan and Stafford (1980) reported that machine-pacing, high effort levels and low autonomy are positively linked to unionism. Although the worker exercises some control over such extrinsic factors as job security, supervision, job influence and so forth, they are frequently technologically determined. Wiendieck (1979) has commented that black workers in South Africa occupy the lowest levels of the organisational hierarchy and are consequently more subject to jobs which are alienating, machine-paced, unsafe and poorly paid.

From a broader, sociological perspective, white workers in South Africa, with their relatively high incomes and living standards, have undergone a process of working-class *embourgeoisement* whereby they have become progressively assimilated into



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middle-class society. Leggett (1968) has pointed out that these workers,

...belong to a dominant *racial* group, one whose occupational composition is disproportionately white-collar. Like marginal workmen, they are also found in an urban, advanced setting. But unlike marginal workmen, they enjoy considerable economic security, in part because they predominate in the more educated and skilled categories of the labor force. These qualifications plus high racial or ethnic prestige enhance their relations with middle-class members of their own group and limit ties with members of the marginal working class...In this sense, (these) workmen differ considerably from marginal workers and express relatively less class consciousness.

The privileged status of the white sample in the present study is indicated by their significantly greater salaries.<sup>4</sup> The finding that white workers gave primacy to extrinsic satisfaction with work as a causal factor of attachment to the union supports Goldthorpe *et al*'s (1968) contention that the more affluent worker emphasises the instrumental aspects of employment. Considerations of pay and security appear not only to be most powerful in binding white workers to their jobs but also stronger predictors of union commitment when not satisfied.

The theory here is that the affluent worker's involvement in both the union and organisation is a "calculative" one (following Etzioni's typology (1961)) rather than an "alienative" or "moral" involvement. The approach to unionism amongst these workers is essentially instrumental and "self-interested." This does not imply that the white sample was more unresponsive and inactive in union activities. There were no significant differ-

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<sup>4</sup> It must be remembered that white South African workers are a highly atypical group. It is particularly important that this should be remembered whenever the results are used as a basis for the discussion of general theoretical issues; the characteristics of the sample must always be taken as that of a special rather than of a typical case.

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ences between black and white members with respect to union affairs ( $t(300) = 0.42, p > 0.05$ ) and union loyalty ( $t(306) = 0.59, p > 0.05$ ). However, involvement in union activities by white members was found to be more influenced by instrumental perceptions. This conclusion is strengthened by the finding that perceptions of extrinsic union instrumentality were stronger amongst white members and more predictive of union involvement.

Goldthorpe *et al.* (1968) found that the political involvement of one's union was not an important issue amongst affluent workers. This corroborates with the finding in the present research that white workers were far more satisfied with the social and political aspects of their lives, having access to the central structures of government. Black workers were significantly more dissatisfied than white union members with such aspects of their lives as their living conditions, education, state of health, standard of living, the present government, freedom, democracy and the moral standards in South Africa and so forth ( $t(302) = 8.23, p < 0.001$ ). Furthermore, whereas amongst the black sample there was a meaningful (though insignificant) causal effect of overall life dissatisfaction on union loyalty, amongst white subjects there was a significant spillover effect in that greater satisfaction with aspects of one's life caused stronger attitudes of union commitment. Again, this provides evidence for a difference in the dynamics of union commitment between more affluent and less privileged sectors of the labour force. Also, the results would support the finding that black workers in the present sample were more alienated than their white colleagues (see below). The union, therefore, is not necessary to extend the worker's social and political horizons

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to the same extent as with black workers. The political expectations of black workers in the current union are clearly illustrated by the proposals put forward by black shops at the recent tri-annual meeting.

The orientation of white workers toward their union reflects their orientation toward work generally; where the latter is predominantly instrumental, it is not to be expected that unionism, any more than work itself, will be seen as a way to satisfying other than economic needs. Conversely, black workers' orientation toward their employment is significantly less instrumental. It would be expected that the nature of involvement with the organisation amongst African workers is more alienative. Consequently they are more negatively oriented towards work and the organisation and see the union as a source of power (perhaps the only source) against their employer. Just as they seek more from their work than economic returns alone, so too do they seek more from the union. Goldthorpe *et al.* (1968) point out that,

..in some cases, workers may look to their employment to provide a variety of rewards of an intrinsic kind as well as extrinsic, economic rewards; they may even be prepared to sacrifice the latter to some extent in preserving or enhancing the former. (p.178)

A significant and related finding is that white union members who were loyal to the union indicated higher levels of involvement in their jobs compared to black workers whose job involvement scores suggested far greater alienation ( $t(303) = 2.62, p < 0.01$ ). Unlike black workers, white union members showed no particularly strong sense of alienation from organisational political processes. White workers have traditionally been more integrated into organisational decision making processes. This

would appear to indicate that for white workers in the present sample the role of the union member and job characteristics are associated in a manner similar to the concept of dual allegiance (Martin, 1981; Purcell, 1960; Stagner, 1956). In other words, workers who express positive attitudes toward their job will tend to have positive attitudes toward their union (Purcell, 1960). As mentioned above, Gordon *et al.* (1980) found evidence indicative of satisfaction with both job and union. Fukami and Larson (1984) examined the concept of dual loyalty by attempting to develop parallel models of union and organisation commitment utilising the same antecedent conditions. Although they found the predictors of organisational commitment did not predict union commitment, organisational commitment was positively and significantly correlated with union commitment. Attempts to ascertain the construct validity and stability of the union commitment concept amongst blue-collar workers have isolated an "organisational/work loyalty" factor which was orthogonal to and independent of union loyalty (Fullagar, 1986). The idea embodied in this factor was that one's loyalty to work rather than the union was perceived as being instrumental to individual success. This would suggest that the concept of dual allegiance is not inevitable but may be moderated by occupational status or whether union membership is predominantly blue- or white-collar. In the present study, job involvement was positively related to attitudes of union commitment for white, affluent workers, whereas amongst black union members, the two concepts were negatively related.

Martin (1981) has suggested that dual allegiance may be moderated by the type of union. Using Walker and Lawler's (1979) distinction between "protective" and "aggressive" unions, Martin

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speculates that dual allegiance is more characteristic of protective unions consisting of privileged workers rather than aggressive unions whose membership consists of more alienated and deprived individuals. This may explain the diversity of the results of previous research. The sample used in Gordon et al's (1980) study consisted of relatively privileged and secure white-collar workers. The later study of Fukami and Larson (1984) investigated union members drawn from a blue-collar labour force but who were highly involved in their work situation. The present results suggest that dual allegiance is more prevalent amongst privileged members of the blue-collar labour force (i.e., the labour aristocracy). Tannenbaum and Kahn (1958) have pointed out that the phenomenon of dual allegiance is explicable on the basis of the assumption that union workers perceive the primary function of their union to be that of protecting their interests on the job. Workers with a high stake in their job, representing greater involvement in and dependence on their work, have on that account a stronger sense of affiliation and identification with the company. It is possible that dual allegiance is not such a common phenomenon at the lower, more alienated levels of the organisational hierarchy because there is less opportunity for workers for organisational involvement and the satisfaction of higher order needs by the company (Barling, 1983). Consequently, dual allegiance may be related to a motivational framework where organisation and union commitment covary for intrinsically motivated workers but not for extrinsically motivated individuals. Also, dual loyalty generally exists in those situations where the labour-management relationship is cooperative and supportive (Bigoness & Tosi, 1984).



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The models presented in this dissertation suggest that there are processes occurring which have a direct and independent effect upon black worker's union commitment and ideological approach to trade unionism. Black and white workers in the present sample were committed to the union for individual and instrumental reasons - this can perhaps be explained by the fact that all respondents were *wage labourers* and this fact explained their level of unionisation and ideological orientation to unionism. However, the above discussion suggests that decisions about union membership and ideas concerning unions are decisively structured by this class position as well as by the nature of the work situation (which is different for black and white workers in South Africa). It has been argued that African workers are more concerned with the political dimension of union organisation. Beynon (1973) claims that this organisation is based upon a working-class factory consciousness and that,

..it understands class relationships in terms of their direct manifestation in conflict between bosses and the workers within the factory. It is rooted in the workplace where struggles are fought over the control of the job and the 'rights' of managers and workers. In as much as it concerns itself with exploitation and power it contains definite political elements. But it is a politics of the factory. (p.98)

Leggett (1968) has postulated that racial differences produce an uneven distribution of class consciousness within the working class due to differences in economic insecurity between dominant and marginal racial groups. The greater economic insecurity amongst black workers which causes a heightened working class consciousness is attributable to three factors;-

1. "Agrarian-industrial mobility" - in South Africa there is a long history of migrant labour and uprooted workers.



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2. "Tenuous occupational position" - African workers in South Africa are more susceptible to unemployment and retrenchment.
3. "Working-class membership in a marginal racial group" - African workers are members of a class which is discriminated against both at work and in society. "Such discrimination contributes to their job insecurity, social isolation, sub-cultural homogeneity, intensive interaction with a proletarian-class, and organised protest and class consciousness" (Leggett, 1968, p.13).

Previous research has tended to assume distinctions among occupational levels with respect to attitudes to unions. Maxey and Mohrman (1980) have highlighted the dichotomy. For example, amongst American blue-collar workers the decision to support unionisation has

...typically been conceptualised as the product of a sort of "cost/benefit" analysis with the focus on aspects of the employment exchange closely related to the workers economic security (wages, benefits, job security) - thus reflecting the presumed "instrumental" orientation of nonprofessional employees. In studies of professional and semi-professional employees, for whom intrinsic satisfaction, participation, autonomy...are presumed to be central, variables which measure the presence of such phenomenon have received more attention. (pp.326-327)

The present results suggest that this distinction between blue- and white-collar workers may be simplistic and that amongst blue-collar workers differences in level of privilege and racial class may produce different process models of union commitment and reasons for attachment to labour organisations. This is not only illustrated in the differences in relationships between union commitment and extrinsic job satisfaction, intrinsic job satisfaction, and job involvement, but also in the different

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belief systems which predicted union loyalty for black and white workers. The finding that white workers' job involvement and work ethic beliefs were causally predictive of attitudes of union commitment would seem to support the concept of dual allegiance and Dubin, Champoux and Porter's (1975) study which found that blue-collar workers with a high central life interest in work (CLI) had a high level of commitment to their work organisation and greater institutional commitment. In the present research, work ethic beliefs could be used as an assessment of CLI in work, as both concepts purport to measure the individual's work orientation. Kidron (1978) has pointed out that "an examination of the CLI and the Protestant Work Ethic scales indicates, as one would expect, such a similarity in content that the two appear directly comparable" (p.240). Work and its extrinsic outcomes were considered central by the present white sample. Consequently, attachment to the union was probably due to its being perceived as essential to protecting work opportunities provided by the employing organisation.

Black workers, on the other hand, held strong Marxist-related beliefs about work which indicated a greater class consciousness, perhaps because of their marginal status. In discussing political or class consciousness, one is referring to people's ideas about the structure of power and the way in which it is exercised in economic and political relations (Parkin, 1971). African subjects in the present sample manifested a class consciousness in that they indicated, (a) a belief in the existence of a class structure, in which classes have conflicting interests, (b) that there is a self-identification in being a member of the working class, and (c) that, as a member of that class, there are material and social disadvantages in common which give

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rise to collective interests which have to be pursued collectively. This form of class consciousness would be termed "restricted" (Meszaros, 1971) in that although it manifests an awareness of class division and conflict, it does not include any notion of an alternative socialist society nor any strategy for attaining that alternative (for example, organised class struggle through the medium of a revolutionary party). A restricted class consciousness was clearly evident in the responses of black workers to the Marxist-Related Beliefs scale, especially feelings of the existence of a class society and the notion of collective disadvantage in comparison to the perceived advantage of the ruling class ("the rich").

There is considerable existing evidence for the proposition that individuals are more prone to unionisation if (a) they are dissatisfied with the conditions of their employment, and (b) they are "philosophically or demographically predisposed toward the idea of collective action" (Maxey & Mohrman, 1980). However, dissatisfaction may not necessarily lead to unionisation if alternative avenues exist for the individual to influence organisational events and improve those conditions which underlie the dissatisfactions. Conversely, conditions in an organisation which prevent people from exerting influence internally might foster the expectation that one would benefit from a union.

Finally, union socialisation experiences were found to positively influence both attitudes of union commitment (i.e., loyalty to the union) and behavioural participation in union activities in both black and white samples. This finding is congruent with previous research which has found an association

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between socialisation variables and various dimensions of union commitment (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). Furthermore, socialisation processes have been theoretically associated with other forms of commitment such as organisational commitment. Mowday *et al.*, (1982) point out that,

the socialization practices of organizations provide the stimulus for creation of employee attachment to the organization....In some organizations, socialization of new members may be more or less random and unplanned. In other organizations, however, newcomers are introduced through a carefully planned series of steps and experiences designed to transmit important values and norms about behavior. (p.62)

Despite the acknowledgement of the importance of socialisation processes (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) little empirical research has been undertaken. Consequently there is little specific knowledge of how socialisation processes effect commitment. Group attitudes amongst professional employees (Steers, 1977), conformity to group norms and supervisory attitudes in striking nurses (O'Reilly, Bloom, & Parlette, 1977), and explicit sacrifices, investments and mortifying experiences (Kanter, 1969) have been found to facilitate greater attachment to, and involvement in, organisations. Gordon *et al.* (1980) have outlined the important implications of the association between socialisation and commitment to unions;

Both formal and informal efforts should be made to immerse the individual in the social as well as the business activities of the union soon after he/she becomes a member. Co-worker attitudes and willingness to help involve the new member are critical. (p.497)

This is especially so amongst African workers in South Africa. Whereas white workers have had a history of relatively strong, established labour organisations, the legitimisation of the inclusion of black workers in industrial relations machinery in South Africa is relatively recent. Consequently, socialisation

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processes become crucial to the transmission of information, values and roles to those members who have not had trade union experience. Labour organisations depend for their power to impose sanctions and 'police' contracts on their members carrying out certain roles or sets of behaviours (e.g., grievance filing, voting behaviour, attendance at meetings) - these are expected of members. If these expectations are met, the union is in a far stronger position to fulfil the membership needs of the person performing the role.

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) have defined organisational socialisation as "the process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organisational role" (p.211), and they outline various tactical dimensions of organisational socialisation and their effects on individual responses. Van Maanen (1978) has identified at least six *tactics* of organisational socialisation. Some of these are more appropriate for labour organisations, especially as the latter usually have limited organising and administrative facilities, and few "training" staff. For example, collective socialisation processes would be relevant, whereby groups of new members are taught union-related skills whose content could be fairly clearly specified and tailored to suit the specific union. These collective processes have been found to facilitate a collective sense of identity, solidarity and loyalty. Moreover, compared to individual socialisation processes, collective processes are easier, less expensive with respect to both time and money, more efficient and predictable, and more economical (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).



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Informal socialisation processes would also be more appropriate as the new member's role is not significantly different from experienced members. These socialisation tactics could also interact with a "serial" process where experienced members of the organisation, such as shop stewards, groom newcomers and serve as role models for recruits. One would have to be careful, however, that the role models are not inappropriate or inexperienced (for example, in the case of the black recruit in a predominantly white branch, where there are few members who would have shared the unique issues and problems faced by the recruit). The peer group is an important socialising influence and co-workers probably provide a supportive function and act as models. Also shop stewards act as important socialising agents. Tannenbaum and Kahn (1958) point out that in more active unions, shop stewards...

...keep members informed about what is going on in the union; they ask the members help in deciding what should be done about union matters; they take an interest in how the members are getting along on the job, and come to the assistance of the members when they really need it.  
(p.234)

The role of the shop steward, then, appears to be crucial for the active participation, the socialisation and the development of the commitment of union members. The steward is the only formal link with the union for those who cannot attend many meetings and consequently his/her actions are important for integrating members into the union.

The propositions set forth by Van Maanen & Schein (1979) suggest several interesting areas of inquiry concerning the development of union commitment and early socialisation experiences. Additional research will be required to establish which are the optimal processes of union socialisation and which primary



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socialisation agents should be used. Child *et al.* (1973) have commented on "the general lack of appreciation of member orientations, of the processes leading to their emergence and the way they are acted out through behaviour in the union, have been serious omissions....of trade union research" (p.75).

The work group is an important reference group for the socialisation of the individual and the consequent formation of union commitment. The socialisation process is dependent upon subjective norms and the individual's motivation to comply with those norms (Fishbein, 1974) and the expectations of salient others (e.g., co-workers, family members, community leaders). Group norms concerning membership roles have been found to influence individual's perception and performance of these roles (Buchanan, 1974; Rhodes & Steers, 1981; Steers, 1977). Many of these factors have been associated with intention to vote for a union (Brief & Rude, 1981; Youngblood *et al.*, 1984). Similarly, commitment to the union and involvement in union activities may be dependent on the levels of commitment and involvement of referent others. Further studies on the unionisation process should focus on the determinants of subjective norms and the role making process within the union as well as the community in which workers reside. The study of union commitment provides a framework for understanding the attachment process that workers undergo.

Before proposing an initial model of union commitment it is necessary to place the results into a context by outlining some of the limitations of the study and its analytical methods.

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Path analysis is a statistical technique which does not constitute proof of a theory, but, at best, lends support to it. Popper (1959) has suggested that research can only falsify a theory. Path analysis necessitates that a causal sequence between variables be specified in advance (Billings & Wroten, 1978). In the present instance, a model of union commitment which was specified in Chapter 4 has survived various tests of fit and therefore has not been disconfirmed. However, it is possible that a competing causal model/s is consistent with the data. For example, the hypothesised model in the present research suggests that job dissatisfaction causes union commitment which causes participation in union activities. It may be that union commitment not only causes union participation but also a process of politicisation of the workforce whereby union members are expected to express dissatisfaction (Borjas, 1979). A possibility for future research would be to establish the existence of competing alternative models. Furthermore, path analysis does not have to limit itself to recursive models where the causal flow is unidirectional. Nonrecursive systems containing feedback loops can be accommodated provided the feedback is not instantaneous and there is a delayed effect so that loops can be represented by lagged variables. Future research aimed at further developing a model of union commitment, therefore, would do well to adopt time-series analyses when analysing the antecedents of commitment.

Heise (1969) points out that one of the major limitations of path analysis is that the validity of the model depends on the validity of the theory;

Obviously, only one ordering of variables is correct for a given system, and only with that ordering will one obtain a model that is valid for explanation and simulation pur-

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poses. But, unfortunately, there is no error-check mechanism in path analysis to reject an incorrect ordering. (p.51)

With the present study, the most likely causal ordering was hypothesised on the basis of previous research. If one were to consider all possible orders, a large number of alternative models would be generated. Young (1977) has indicated that even with four variables the number of possible configurations would be too great to test.

Another problem associated with path analysis is that of unexplained variables or disturbances which are not explicitly considered within the model. It is assumed that disturbances in each endogenous variable are uncorrelated. This requirement implies that all input variables have been included explicitly in the model, or controlled for. As Billings and Wroten (1978) state, in path analysis "the assumption of uncorrelated residuals applies, meaning that third-variable explanations are eliminated by assumption" (p.675).

One of the most recommended solutions to the unmeasured variables' problem is to measure reliably those variables which have been theoretically identified as causes of an endogenous variable. In this instance this was done (see Tables 5.3 and 5.7). Those variables which had previously been identified as the antecedents of union commitment were either included in the analysis or controlled for (e.g., sex of membership and union type). Furthermore the internal reliability of the exogenous variables and the internal and test-retest reliability of the endogenous variables were high. However, despite these precautions, the problem of unmeasured variables is never completely

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resolvable as *all* the relevant causes of an endogenous variable such as union commitment may not be known (Duncan, 1975; Heise, 1975; James, 1980; Kenny, 1975). James (1980) has suggested that although it is "unrealistic" to eliminate the problem of unmeasured variables, various steps can be taken to "attempt to minimize bias in path coefficients to the point that the bias is within "tolerable limits" for research purposes" (p.419). Unfortunately, no method is currently available to empirically assess whether an unmeasured variable problem exists within a set of data. To minimise the bias caused by unmeasured disturbances, a time-series analysis was initially undertaken on the endogenous variables (Heise, 1970, 1975; James, 1980). This also meant that effects and then causes were attended to in line with James' suggestion. Furthermore, tests for autoregressive disturbances were carried out using the Durbin-Watson statistic.

Another possible source of measurement error with the current data may be attributable to method invariance. That is, all the variables in the present survey were measured by self-report questionnaires and this may have produced an auto-correlational effect. Salancik and Pfeffer (1977) have suggested that research which relies on questionnaire measures may produce artefactual results because of "priming" and "consistency" effects. Basically, these arguments rely on a postulated need for individuals to present consistent information about themselves, possibly distorting "true" information because of their memory of their own earlier responses. This would pose a serious threat to the validity of both the measures used, and the subsequent tests of empirical relationships. However, several studies have been performed which have attempted to empirically assess the nature of order effects in multi-instrument questionnaire bat-

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teries in general (Berger, Whitely & Whitely, 1980) and to test for Salancik and Pfeffer's (1977) "priming" and "consistency" effects specifically (Stone & Gueutal, 1981; Stone & Hollenbeck, 1981). The results of all three studies indicate that survey order effects are infrequent and of relatively small magnitude. Moreover, the work by Stone and his colleagues provides no evidence to support Salancik and Pfeffer's (1977) hypotheses. Also, the results indirectly refute an artefact-based explanation. If the results were caused by a form of correlated measurement error (such as "priming" or "consistency") then one would expect consistent relations between variables for black and white samples. In fact significant relations were observed in the one sample which were insignificant in the other. Furthermore, the possibility of this type of measurement error was reduced through (a) the use of both negatively and positively phrased items, (b) the variation of response formats, and (c) the separation of items in the questionnaire. Ideally, to eliminate shared method variance as a potential alternative explanation, different measurement devices should be used to study each variable. The difficulty of access to unions as well as the lack of union information with respect to the concepts studied here made it impossible to obtain similar independent, "objective" measures. Furthermore, for ethical reasons, and to minimise response bias, the emphasis in the questionnaires was on the anonymity of respondents.

Finally, the response rate of 26% does necessitate caution in terms of the generalisability of the results to other unions and blue-collar workers. As Tannenbaum and Kahn (1958) point out,

One of the major processes of social science is extrapolation from the specific to the general, from a sample population in hand to a universe beyond reach, from vari-

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ables and measures of limited scope to ideas concerning broader social processes. To stop short of such generalizations is to be less than scientific, but to attempt them from insufficient data is also less than scientific, and perhaps more dangerous. (pp.235-236)

The generalisation of results becomes more difficult if one takes into account Hoxie's observation over 60 years ago;

Unions do not amalgamate into a single general organisation and movement, but there are many independent unions and several groups and general associations with vitally different viewpoints, fundamental purposes, and ways of attaining them. What is true of one union or group may not be true at all of another. No judgements may be rendered nor generalisations made in regard to unionism as such from the study of any union or any small number of unions, or any group (1923, pp.1-2).

Nonetheless, statistical tests indicated that there were no significant differences between respondents and non-respondents on both demographic characteristics and the study variables, which suggests that the final sample was not atypical of the union under study. Again, a detailed demographic breakdown of the union membership was not available from union records. Furthermore, the subject union could not be said to be typical of either craft-diluted unions or general unions in South Africa, let alone unions overseas. Consequently, the external validity of the current results are limited. However the results do provide extremely valuable guidelines for future research aimed at developing an understanding of union commitment within a union. Moreover, the path analysis provides partial confirmation of the models proposed in Chapter 4 as well as offering useful suggestions for theory development.

*Conclusion: An initial model of union commitment.*

Before outlining the possible directions for future research, a brief summary of the results would be clarifying. The current



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research was an attempt to redress the imbalance caused by psychology's neglect of organised labour. To this end, the antecedents and outcomes of union commitment were investigated as commitment to labour organisations has been isolated as a crucial variable in the understanding of the unionisation process. This importance was confirmed by the finding that attitudes of union commitment causally explained a high percentage of the variance in a measure of behavioural involvement in union activities which consisted of indices of grievance filing behaviour, attendance at union meetings, membership of union committees, voting behaviour and knowledge of labour-management contract. Furthermore, the relationship between union commitment and participation in formal union activities was found to be unidirectional rather than reciprocal. This supports those commitment theories which have predicted that commitment attitudes cause the individual to engage in commitment-related behaviours (Angle & Perry, 1983; Buchanan, 1975; Crampon *et al.*, 1978; Ferris & Aranya, 1983; Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Porter *et al.*, 1974, 1976; Porter & Smith, 1970). If participation in union activities is an important criterion for union effectiveness then commitment becomes a crucial variable in establishing union democracy and increasing the union's strength.

Drawing upon Steers' (1977) model of organisational commitment and the findings of previous union research, a model of union commitment was hypothesised and tested. A simplified version of this model is presented in Figure 6.2.

Of the personal variables measured in the present research, race was found to be an important moderating factor with respect to the strength of the relationships between antecedent variables

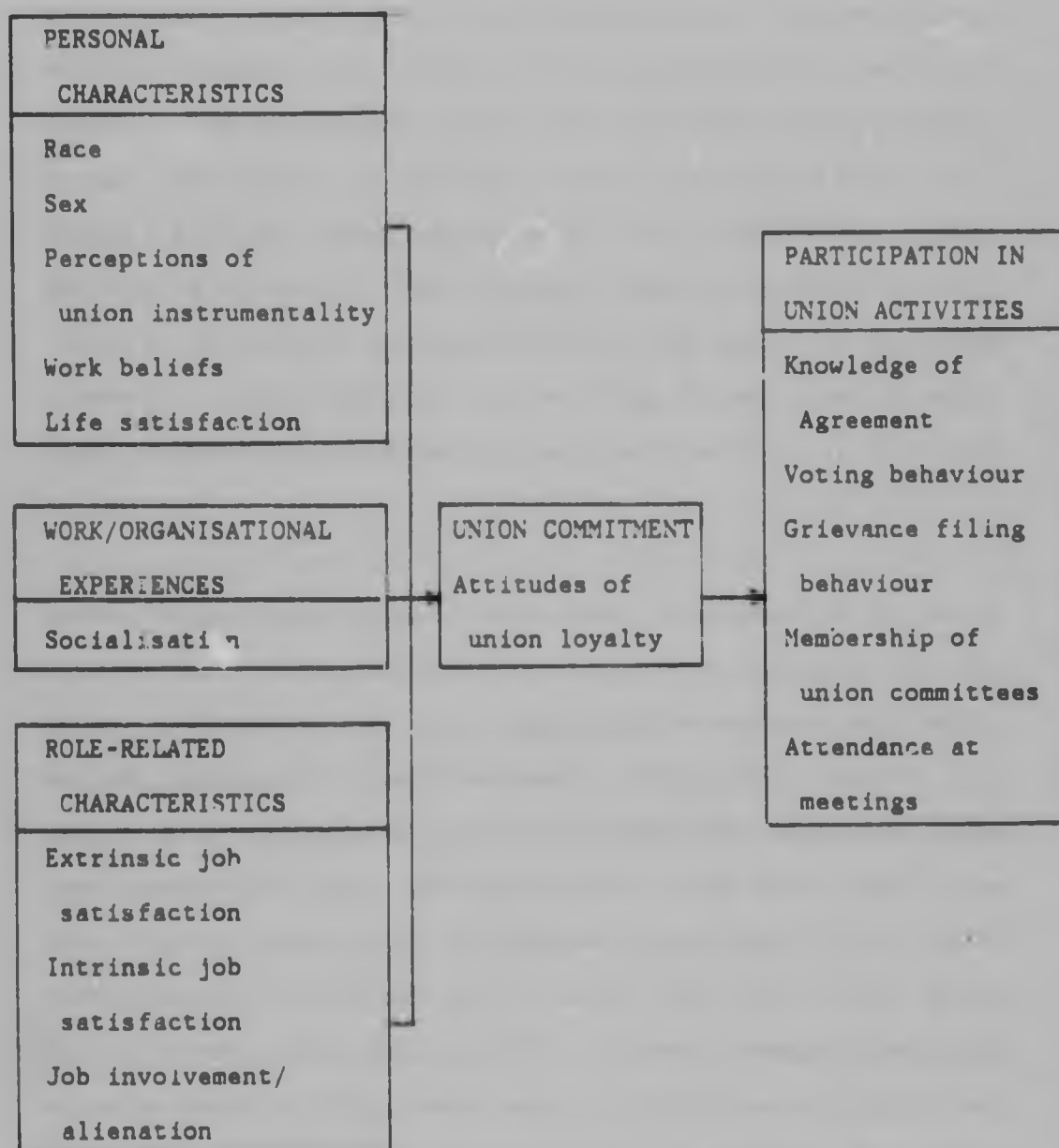


Figure 6.2. *Antecedents and outcomes of union commitment.*

and attitudes of union commitment, and in terms of which variables were found to have a meaningful and significant effect on

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commitment. Race in South Africa is a composite indicator of a number of factors which include occupational status, privilege and security, affluence, union protection, political enfranchisement and so forth. Although gender is the only other demographic variable which has been associated with union commitment (Gordon *et al.*, 1980), in the present study the sex of union members was controlled for and only male workers investigated. In support of previous studies on unionisation (e.g., Beutell & Biggs, 1984; Bigoness & Tosi, 1984; Brett, 1980; DeCotiis & LeLouarn, 1981; Kochan, 1979; Youngblood *et al.*, 1984) the perceived instrumentality of the union in achieving economic benefits was found to be a significant cause of attitudes of commitment and behavioural involvement in union activities.

Another significant cause of attitudinal commitment to the union were the work values which workers held. In the present research these were moderated by race. Amongst white workers, work ethic beliefs determined union commitment. This would support research which indicates a "spillover" effect and which has found that workers who have a strong Protestant Work Ethic tend to be more highly committed to organisations (Buchanan, 1974; Card, 1978; Goodale, 1973; Hall *et al.*, 1970; Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hulin & Blood, 1968; Kidron, 1978). However, amongst the black union members in the present sample, Marxist-related work beliefs were stronger predictors of union commitment. This indicated that greater perceptions of alienation and exploitation and a strong development of class consciousness caused greater loyalty to the union.

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It was also found that general attitudes towards life and attitudes to the union were inextricably linked. The strength and nature of this relationship were again moderated by race. Amongst black workers there was a "compensatory" relationship between life satisfaction and commitment to the labour union, whereas amongst white union members, general life satisfaction "spilled over" or generalised to a satisfaction with, or loyalty to, the union.

With respect to work or union experiences, early socialisation experiences were found to exert an important causal influence on both attitudes of union commitment and behavioural involvement in union affairs for both segments of the sample. This corroborates with Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) research and also supports previous research on organisational commitment (Mowday *et al.*, 1982).

Finally, certain role-related characteristics were found to causally predict attachment to the union. Again, the nature and strength of the relationship was dependent on the race of the subjects. For example, dissatisfaction with extrinsic job dimensions was found to be a strong predictor of attitudes of commitment amongst white union members, and, to a lesser extent, amongst black workers. However, for the latter, intrinsic dissatisfaction was a more important or significant cause of union loyalty. This can be explained in terms of the greater alienation and differing needs of black workers. For white workers, job involvement was related to union commitment in a manner which suggests dual loyalty to both work and the union. Alienation from work, on the other hand, was a strong motivator for attachment to the union for black workers.

## CHAPTER 7

### Implications for future research.<sup>1</sup>

This dissertation has attempted to develop a process model of commitment to labour organisations. In doing so the central importance of the concept of union commitment has been reaffirmed. Commitment was found to be a major determinant of behavioural activities which are essential if the union is to be effective. Furthermore, various antecedents of commitment were identified which enhanced the limited understanding of some of the psychological processes involved in unions.

It has been argued that a focus on union commitment is crucial. In trying to understand the causes and consequences of attachment to unions, previous research has relied almost exclusively on union membership (e.g., Brett, 1980; Freeman & Medhoff, 1984). Yet many people who belong to unions do so unwillingly (e.g., in "closed-shop" organisations), and many people who do not have access to union membership would choose to belong if they could. Focusing exclusively on union membership, therefore, ignores the diversity of attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of union members.

In addition, the results of the present research are not based on correlational, cross-sectional data, but on longitudinal information and causal analysis. It also moves away from the nominal measures which have been used in previous research as measures of unionisation (e.g., voting intention and voting

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<sup>1</sup> Parts of this chapter appear in S. Bluen & C. Fullagar (1986), *Psychology an industrial relations*. In J. Barling, C. Fullagar, & S. Bluen (Eds.), *Behaviour in organisations: South African perspectives* (2nd Ed.). Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill.

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behaviour). Union commitment or loyalty can be seen as related to these, yet it is a more psychologically relevant approach than membership *per se* and a more continuous measure of unionisation. However, the relationship between antecedent factors and union loyalty were hypothesised to be recursive and unidirectional, rather than reciprocal. It remains for future research to establish the exact nature and direction of these relationships.

The model presented in Figure 6.1 and the results reported here are by no means exhaustive. The discussion in Chapter 3 ascertained that union commitment was multi-faceted in nature. It was beyond the scope of the present study to develop causal models for each dimension of union commitment. Union loyalty was used as a major indicator of union commitment for a number of reasons: (a) it has been found to be a stable factor in several studies undertaken on different samples, (b) it accounted for the largest proportion of the variance of union commitment, and (c) it reflected one of the most important characteristics of commitment, namely an affective attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the union (Allen & Meyer, 1984). Nevertheless, one direction for future research would be to ascertain whether the process model outlined here for Union Loyalty generalises to other commitment factors such as Responsibility to the Union, Organisation/Work Loyalty, Belief in the Union and Perceived Union Instrumentality.

Furthermore, there are obviously other antecedent and outcome variables which should be included when developing a more extensive model of union commitment and which have recently been found to be important in the unionisation process. For example, some of the factors which current research is finding to impinge



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on the whole area of industrial relations include industrial relations' climate (Bluen & Donald, 1985) and psychological stress which is not only job-related but also associated with the industrial relations' process (Bluen, 1984). Some of these additional factors will now be discussed in order to point out the limitations of the present model and to provide some guidelines for future research. Certain guidelines have already been suggested in the discussion of Chapter 6.

### *Personal characteristics.*

*Demographic variables.* One of the major sources of the present model of union commitment has been those models which have developed from the research on commitment to commercial organisations (Mowday *et al.*, 1982; Steers, 1977). In developing the model of union commitment, however, there are some important departures from previous classifications of the antecedents of commitment. First, within personal antecedents, demographic and personality characteristics should be differentiated clearly. Even where demographic variables (e.g., race and sex) predict organisational commitment, these demographic variables are "marker" variables merely denoting the existence of important underlying processes. Various studies have attempted to relate demographic characteristics of union members with a number of indices of unionisation. Generally, demographic characteristics have been found not to predispose workers to support unionisation. However, the present research within the context of South Africa, found that race was an important marker variable in demarcating differences in the dynamics of commitment to labour unions even though there were no differences in the levels of commitment.

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*Personality characteristics.* The personality characteristics which were found to cause attitudes of union commitment in the present research included perceived instrumentality and work beliefs (Work Ethic beliefs and Marxist-related beliefs). The latter were moderated by race (i.e., social background). Further personal factors which require additional investigation include various personality factors which may be important determinants of union commitment. For example, it has been found that the higher the need for achievement, the higher the initial levels of organisational commitment (Mowday & McDade, 1980). It is possible that power and affiliation needs influence union commitment. Glick, Mirvis and Harder (1977) suggest a complex relationship exists between union satisfaction and participation which is consistent with expectancy theory. Satisfaction is positively correlated with participation among members who express high needs for "decision making, accomplishment, and growth", whereas for union members with weak needs, participation may indicate dissatisfaction with the union. The sample in this study, however, consisted of members of a nonaffiliated professional engineering union, and consequently cannot be regarded as representative of the total labour force. Further research is required on different workers to clarify the nature and directionality of the relationship between union member's level of commitment and certain personality characteristics.

*Organisational/work experiences.*

*Socialisation.* Initial socialisation and the nature and quality of subsequent work experiences are important correlates of organisational commitment. Most such research, however, has focused on organisational, not union commitment. Recently, Fukami

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and Larson (1984) showed that work experiences predict *both* organisational and union commitment. Their findings, together with the results of the present research, suggest that certain individual experiences in the initial stages of organisational socialisation are generalisable to labour organisations and that an understanding of organisational commitment and socialisation can contribute to the development of a model of union commitment.

One influential experience which shapes attachment to the organisation is the attitudes toward important reference groups and significant others in the organisation. This is consistent with Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) attitude formation theory. Group norms concerning membership roles influence individual's perception and performance of those roles (Buchanan, 1974; Rhodes & Steers, 1981; Steers, 1977). Brief and Rude (1981) found subjective norms and compliance with the norms of salient others influence the extent of union support. Furthermore, interactions with established union and organisational members is the primary avenue whereby recruits internalise the implicit mores of the organisational climate and refine their initial expectations concerning the organisation and their roles (Schein, 1980). It may be that a socialisation process involving the individual in role behaviours over and above those usually required by the organisation generates greater feelings of attachment through cognitive consonance (Salancik, 1977; Stagner, 1956). Nevertheless, social involvement and the extent and nature of initial socialisation experiences remain important determinants of attachment to unions and require further investigation.

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*Managerial attitudes.* The present and previous studies on union commitment have concentrated on workers' attitudes towards unions and organised labour. Very little research has focused on the attitudes of management and how these facilitate or hinder the development of union commitment. Managerial attitudes can range from open and controlled hostility, to cooperation and collusion (Allen & Keaveny, 1983). Witte (1954) identified two anti-union managerial strategies which emerged in response to increased American unionisation since the first World War. On the one hand, a hard-line hostile approach was adopted, characterised by practices such as employing strike breakers, open shop drives, court injunctions, and using industrial and electronic spies to suppress union organising efforts. The second was a more subtle anti-union approach which provides employees with better benefits than could be expected by the union. In South Africa, instances of hard-line anti-union managerial practices abound (Bluen & Van Zwam, 1983; Douwes-Dekker, 1981; Shindler, 1984). Examples include introducing in-company committees as an alternative to trade unions, refusing to deal with unregistered unions even though they are legal, employing industrial spies to inform on union activities in the company, selective firing and rehiring, and the involvement of security police in the suppression of industrial conflict. These actions are often exacerbated by State actions, such as the detention without trial of labour leaders. Managerial attitudes are also influenced by (a) a social and political environment that is hostile to unions, (b) the employment of predominantly unskilled workers who have few employment alternatives, and (c) a large reserve of available labour in the area. These attitudes are bound to have an effect on the commitment of workers to unions.

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However research is needed to determine whether this effect is a consolidating or prohibiting one.

*Equity.* In the present study, it was suggested that perceived pay equity may account for the difference in the strength of the relationship between extrinsic job satisfaction and union commitment. Perceived wage inequity has been associated with pro-union attitudes and union membership (Duncan & Stafford, 1980; Farber & Saks, 1980; Lee, 1978; Maxey & Mohrman, 1980). The relationship has been found to be moderated by occupational status (Brett, 1980; Kochan, 1979). This finding remains despite the fact that wage dissatisfaction is significantly related to support of the union (Kochan, 1979). The different relationships between (a) perceived equity and (b) pay dissatisfaction and union commitment warrant further investigation amongst different types of workers for an understanding of the process of union commitment.

### *Role-related characteristics.*

*Job satisfaction.* Mowday *et al.* (1982) and Steers (1977) isolated employee roles and job characteristics as a further group of predictors of organisational commitment. These researchers included job scope and content as role-related characteristics. Consequently job satisfaction is included here as a role-related factor, although there is debate as to whether it shouldn't be considered as a work experience (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). In the present research, the causal relations between extrinsic and intrinsic facets of job satisfaction were moderated by the particular segment of the blue-collar workforce being investigated. Nonetheless, extrinsic dissatisfaction was found to cause union



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commitment in both black and white samples, whereas intrinsic dissatisfaction was significant only for black workers.

*Role-conflict and ambiguity.* In terms of work roles, conflict and role ambiguity influence commitment. Role conflict is inversely related to commitment to organisations, whereas the relationship between role ambiguity and commitment remains equivocal (Morris & Koch, 1979; Morris & Sherman, 1981). In attempting to construct a common model of commitment to both union and organisation, Fukami and Larson (1984) found that although job scope and stress were correlated with company commitment, similar significant relationships did not exist with union commitment. This may be due to Fukami and Larson's research concentrating solely on job-related characteristics pertaining to their subject's organisational role, rather than focusing on the scope, stresses, conflicts and ambiguities associated with union membership roles. For example, it is possible that the conflicting demands placed on the individual in his/her role as a union member or official and in his/her role as an employee of the company have an effect on both union and organisational commitment. Furthermore, the irregular hours which are necessitated by union meetings may introduce conflict between union and family roles which influence commitment to the union (cf. Bluen & Barling, 1985; Gullahorn, 1956; Nicholson, 1976).

*Dual allegiance.* It may be that amongst more privileged workers the characteristics of the role of the union member and job characteristics are associated in a manner similar to the concept of dual allegiance (Martin, 1981; Purcell, 1960; Stagner, 1956). In other words, workers who have positive attitudes towards their union due to their active role will tend to express



positive attitudes toward their employing organisation (Purcell, 1960). The present findings for white union members corroborates with Gordon *et al.*'s evidence (1980) which indicated involvement in both job and union. Fukami and Larson (1984) examined the concept of dual loyalty, and organisational commitment was positively and significantly correlated with union commitment. Attempts to ascertain the construct validity and stability of the union commitment concept amongst blue-collar workers isolated an "organisational/work loyalty" factor which was orthogonal to and independent of union loyalty (see Chapter 3). The idea embodied in this factor is that one's loyalty to work rather than the union is perceived as instrumental to individual success. The present study also found that the concept of dual loyalty was not inevitable but may be moderated by race or occupational/social status. This is not inconsistent with the moderating role of race in the relationship between union commitment and intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction.

The concept of dual allegiance and multiple commitments warrants further attention in order to clarify the relationship between union commitment and organisational commitment. Research in the area of organisational commitment suggests that individuals committed to the organisation are more job oriented, indicate higher levels of commitment to their career, and identify work as a central life interest (Dubin *et al.*, 1975). These findings may be due to an autocorrelational effect in that there appears to be considerable conceptual redundancy between various forms of commitment, such as work commitment, job commitment, career commitment and organisational commitment (Morrow, 1983). The evidence concerning dual allegiance to both union and company is equivocal (Martin, 1981; Weiner & Vardi, 1980). Recent

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studies appear to indicate that union and organisational commitment are associated (Fukami & Larson, 1984) but not predictable by the same set of antecedent variables. The present study found that dual allegiance was evident amongst those workers who were more privileged (i.e., higher wages, longer history of union protection, greater access to social facilities and organisational decision making), held stronger work ethic beliefs, and had stronger perceptions of the union's extrinsic instrumentality. However, amongst more alienated workers the concept of dual loyalty was not evident. The relationship between union commitment and other forms of commitment, such as commitment to one's family and community needs further research. For example, does commitment in one area of the union member's life preclude (or even strengthen) commitment to the union, and in what way do role conflicts interact with union commitment?

### *Structural characteristics.*

*Union structure.* Mowday *et al.* (1982) have extended Steers' (1977) model of organisational commitment to include structural determinants. In the present study, because only one union was investigated, these structural characteristics were controlled for. However, Stagner (1962) has noted that technology, type of work force, company and union organisation, and other structural variables may be more important than personal characteristics in influencing labour issues such as the degree of participation of union members in decision-making. It has already been mentioned (see Chapter 2) that as labour organisations grow in size there is a tendency toward "the iron law of oligarchy" (Michels, 1959) and the development of bureaucratic structures to attain goals and deal with administrative problems. This results in the

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concentration of power at the top of the organisational hierarchy and the lessening of the influence and involvement of rank and file members.

A number of structural characteristics are associated with commitment to organisations. These include size, span of control, the extent of formalisation, functional dependence and decentralisation of the organisation (Steers, 1977; Stevens *et al.*, 1978). For example, Rhodes and Steers (1999) have found that the degree of worker ownership and participation in decision-making are positively related to organisational commitment. This supports Tannenbaum and Kahn's (1953) findings indicating a positive correlation between the participation of the rank and file in union activity and its control over the union. Certain structural characteristics of the union effect the extent of union democracy and participation. These include not only factors such as size and span of control, but also degree of open admission policy, extent of decentralisation of collective bargaining, and rank and file accessibility to political participation. It is probable that the structure of the labour organisation facilitates participation and commitment to the extent that it possesses the structures which encourage democracy. Generally, the evidence suggests that structural characteristics are important correlates of the commitment concept.

For example, many unions in Britain and Australia have been criticised for having inadequate structures to promote member participation (Goldstein, 1952). Typically, these unions have a large number of relatively unskilled workers distributed in numerous work locations. The structure of these unions is such that they group their members into large union locals which meet at

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some central location. As Strauss and Warner (1977) point out, "the result, almost inevitably, is apathy, low attendance at meetings, and a failure to enlist membership commitment to union objectives" (p.121). One solution would be to change the structure of the unions from a territorial to a shop-level one. Further, more quantitative research is needed to investigate the interaction between union structure and commitment to labour organisations. Mowday *et al.* (1982) present data which suggests that different types of organisation manifest different levels of commitment and that organisational structure influences commitment outcomes. Furthermore, it appears that structural characteristics interact with personal and role-related variables to effect individual attachment to organisations.

It has already been indicated how unions in South Africa adopt different structures in order to effectively pursue differing goals. Furthermore, the structure of the union is not only important to its success in collective bargaining, but it also effects essential aspects of union functioning, such as the democratic distribution of power and the decision making influence of members. Hindson (1984) outlines the differences in union structure and methods of organising workers between industrial and general unions in South Africa. "Regional-general" unions tend to organise workers from many industrial sectors within a limited location, and consequently mobilising workers to participate in union activities is relatively easy. Industrial unions, on the other hand, organise workers nationwide within a particular industry, with the result that membership is spread out with less access to union facilities (Hindson, 1984). Nonetheless, unions which are organised on an industry basis have developed stronger shop floor struc-

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tures and shop steward committees which facilitate more direct forms of worker control. Hindson (1984) ascribes this to the "high degree of monopolistic ownership within each industrial sub-sector in South Africa" which precipitates a worker community bonded by similar work experiences and grievances. The union studied in the present research is in the process of reorganising its organisational and administrative structure to bring it in line with the new needs created by the growth of the union and to respond to the perceived increase in apathy of the work force. Greater emphasis is being placed on shop floor democracy. The formation of interest groups on the shop floor is planned to deal with recruitment, benefits, negotiations, grievance handling, health and safety, and education and training. These groups will consist of workers chaired by a shop steward. Shop steward committees are also planned. These changes in structure are being introduced to encourage greater membership participation and involvement in union affairs.

So far we have considered commitment to be a consequence of various deprivations and dissatisfactions experienced by the worker. However, an alternative approach would be to perceive attachment to unions as a response to the unequal distribution of power and control in organisations. Again, using Walker and Lawler's (1979) "aggressive/protective" typology, it can be hypothesised that the two categories of union differ in terms of their goals, motivations, membership, historical development, bargaining style and so forth. "Aggressive" unions represent workers who feel alienated from the political processes of the organisation and who seek to rectify the imbalance in authority structure between management and employees. These types of union are aggressive and militant in their organising and bar-



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gaining style. "Protective" unions, on the other hand, manifest a more conservative concern for renegotiating the exchange relationship between management and employee. Members are attracted to protective unions usually as a result of dissatisfaction with organisational rewards and security and the nonresponsiveness of management to employee needs. These unions consist of relatively privileged, skilled workers who have greater access to decision-making structures within the organisation and who are consequently less concerned with the distribution of power. It is quite feasible that these different types of workplace organisation, which reflect the differing needs and interests that exist within the labour force, will exhibit varying levels and processes of commitment. Turner (1962) has suggested that different types of union are associated with different styles of government and levels of member participation. For example, high participation levels are found in 'closed' occupational unions, which have rigid membership controls. Within general, 'open' unions which cover a wide range of occupations, there tends to be a lower level of membership participation. Again, no research has been conducted on the relationship between union type and commitment. Consequently, the predictive effects outlined above remain speculative. In the present research, the possible extraneous effects of differing types of union was acknowledged and controlled for by limiting the investigation to one union. However, it was felt that the varying needs of a diverse working class would be reflected in black and white union members' attitudes. The structure and aims of trade unions in South Africa are very much linked with the racial composition of their memberships. Kochan (1950) has suggested that the demographic context of the labour force (e.g., age, educational level, race, occupational level, sex, industry)



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will influence worker expectations and attitudes with respect to labour organisations and jobs, and consequently effect the goals of union bargaining and job outcomes. Demographic homogeneity, it is hypothesised, will reduce the potential for internal conflict when establishing long term bargaining priorities. This is evident in South Africa where emergent black trade unions are sceptical concerning white dominated industrial councils' abilities to represent their interests. Furthermore, the changing demographic and racial composition of labour organisations (especially since 1979) is producing different collective bargaining structures. There is a trend amongst emergent unions to reject a craft-based organisation with centralised industrial control for a grass-roots or shop steward based organisation which is independent of skill level (National Manpower Commission, 1984).

*Company structure.* So far the focus has been on the structure of the union and how it impinges on union democracy and membership participation and commitment. However, the structure of the employing organisation also has an effect on labour relations. As organisations grow there is a shift away from more direct and personal styles of management to managerial processes which are formalised, standardised and impersonal. Increasing organisational complexity enhances the possibility of industrial conflict and has a negative impact on union-management relations (Marginson, 1984). When union-management relations are conflictual, there is greater membership loyalty and participation in such union activities as attending meetings, assuming picket duties and other behaviours over-and-above those required for routine union membership (Barling, 1985; Stagner & Eflal, 1982). Studies have indicated that small firms tend to have

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better labour-management relations as a result of less bureaucracy, greater interaction between levels of the organisational hierarchy and more moral involvement in the organisation (Ingham, 1970). Not only does the size of the employing organisation influence the extent of impersonal supervision and the provision of employee benefits, but it also has an effect on union success. Kochan (1979) has shown that this relationship is complex in that intermediate-size organisations are more difficult for unions to organise than large or small plants. Other research has found the size of the organisation to be associated with both employee dissatisfaction (Berger & Cummings, 1979; Porter & Lawler, 1965) and strike activity (Brett & Goldberg, 1979; Britt & Galle, 1974; Shorter & Tilly, 1974). Bureaucracy, however, is not a unitary concept which has a uniform relationship with size (Marginson, 1984). Large organisations are not necessarily more centralised. Often an increase in size brings with it greater decentralisation and flexibility and fewer bureaucratic properties. Size is also not necessarily related to conflict. Although the incidence of strike activity increases with size of organisation, quitting and absenteeism (regarded as alternative symptoms of conflict and correlated with commitment) have been found often to have a negative or equivocal relationship with size (Ingham, 1970).

There is also research suggesting that organisations which have centralised and formalised structures are less capable of dealing with the conditions which foster industrial unrest than are decentralised, less formal organisations (Brett & Goldberg, 1979; Ross, 1963). South African surveys of companies (e.g., Godsell, Bluen & Malherbe, 1981; Hall, 1984) indicate that organisations have extremely centralised systems of decision

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making, especially with respect to industrial relations. The result is that many worker grievances are overlooked because decision making authority is removed from the shop-floor level, to a level further up the managerial hierarchy. Furthermore, as Brett (1980) indicates, the decrement in first-level supervisors' authority often results in their exercising what little remaining authority they have in an arbitrary manner which leads to additional conflict and labour unrest. Further research is required to elucidate the relationship between size, bureaucracy, and industrial conflict.

The effects of the size of employing organisation may be exacerbated by technological factors. Perrow (1972) has suggested that non-routine technologies are associated with higher job variability, participation, autonomy, and responsibility. By contrast, routine technologies are characterised by standardised roles, strict supervision, one-way communication and an overall organisational climate which is not conducive to participation. The impositions made by such technological organisations make organised action through the union the only effective means for workers to influence the work process and therefore increase the likelihood of greater commitment to labour organisations.

*Freedom of association.* Another structural characteristic which might effect commitment to unions is the degree of freedom of association. In companies where there are two or more competing labour organisations, one would expect to find a different level and structure of commitment compared to companies governed by a closed-shop agreement whereby a condition of employment is compulsory union membership. Research on job choice in organisations and subsequent attitudes toward the job has shown

that chosen jobs are rated as being more attractive and are valued more highly when no choice is offered (Vroom & Deci, 1971; Lawler, Kuleck, Rhode & Sorensen, 1975). Similarly, using dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), one would predict that selecting one out of a number of unions would influence new members' attitudes toward the union. As mentioned previously, Salancik (1977) has stated that one of the important characteristics of behaviours that makes them committing is that they must be freely engaged in. The presence of a number of unions in any one plant or industry increases the individual worker's freedom of choice. Salancik (1977) believes that, given a number of choice alternatives, the individual will become more behaviourally committed to his/her final decision in an effort to justify joining a particular labour organisation. Mowday *et al.* (1982) have reiterated that "decisions characterised by high behavioural commitment should also lead to greater attitudinal commitment" (p.53). Again, this structural characteristic was controlled for in the present research as the union under investigation believed in Freedom of Association.

*Environmental characteristics.* Market context and socio-political variables could also have an effect on commitment to labour organisations. Prior economic downturns, inflationary trends, the current unemployment situation, and changes in employment and wage rates probably influence commitment levels. Economic recessions are said to produce labour unrest because of retrenchments and a climate which facilitates exploitation of labour market conditions. Studies have indicated a resultant swing in favour of unionisation (Adams & Krislov, 1974; Ashenfelter & Pencavel, 1969; Moore & Pearce, 1975). Unions thrive during low unemployment or rapid employment growth

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periods (Ashenfelter & Pencavel, 1969; Bain & Elsheikh, 1976; Roomkin & Juris, 1978). Although these findings have not been supported unequivocally (cf. Anderson, O'Reilly, & Busman, 1980; Fiorito, 1982; Mancke, 1971; Moore & Pearce, 1976; Sheflin, Troy, & Koeller, 1981) they do suggest the probable role of labour market influences on union commitment. So far, commitment studies have not focused on these macro-economic determinants.

### *The consequences of union commitment.*

Undoubtedly, as demonstrated by the results of the present research, commitment to the union exerts some influence on organisational and union attitudes and behaviours. A full understanding of union commitment must include an appreciation of the consequences as well as the causes of union commitment.

With respect to the present research, several consequences of commitment have been identified. These centred around participation in various formal union activities consisting of engaging in behaviours necessary for the union to operate effectively and democratically. These included participation in union elections, frequent attendance at local union meetings, familiarity with the provisions of the agreement that the union has with the company, serving on a union committee, and frequency of grievance filing. Previous research has indicated that formal participation or, more specifically, use of the grievance procedure, is the most effective differentiating behaviour between active and inactive members (Tannenbaum & Kahn, 1958) as well as a strong correlate of responsibility to the union and willingness to work for the union (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). Indeed, the grievance procedure is central to the whole collective bargain-



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ing relationship (Allen & Keaveny, 1985, Slichter, Healy, & Livernash, 1960). Research has shown that demographic, personality and attitudinal characteristics have not contributed substantially to the variance in rank and file member grievance behaviour (Ash, 1970; Eckerman, 1948; Kissler, 1977; Ronan & Prien, 1973; Stagner, 1956, 1962; Sulkin & Pranis, 1967). One finding which warrants further investigation is that the more committed shop stewards were to the union, the less likely they were to consult with potential grievants and generally engage in grievance filing behaviour (Dalton & Todor, 1982). Allen and Keaveny (1985) have outlined a model which differentiates the characteristics of grievants and non-grievants. The model includes employer and union characteristics as well as individual attributes (age, attitudes to supervisors, desire to participate, attitudes to the union and participation in the union). Despite the fact that union satisfaction was measured by a single item scale and union instrumentality by four extrinsic items, attitudes toward unions were found to be more significant differentiators of grievants and non-grievants than the job and demographic variables in earlier studies. Given the strong relationship between union commitment and participation in union activities (e.g., grievance filing), one direction for further research would be to ascertain the strength of the effect that union commitment attitudes have on the decision to file a grievance and satisfaction with grievance resolution.

It would appear, then, that union commitment is associated with union behaviours such as attendance at union meetings, grievance filing behaviour and various other participative activities. However, although there is a consistent, predictive relationship between organisational commitment and voluntary turnover, no

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research exists to indicate whether commitment *causes* union turnover and retention of members. This is an especially important issue in those organisations where there is more than one union jostling for membership, and where workers leave one union to join another. Furthermore, Katz and Kahn (1978) define one of the characteristics of a successful organisation as the ability to attract and retain members. This is just as relevant for labour organisations as it is for commercial organisations. The present research concentrated on a very limited set of behavioural outcomes of commitment. Future research would do well to expand on these consequences.

Several studies have investigated the individual characteristics of union leaders. none have incorporated a measure of the individual's commitment to the labour organisation or attempted to ascertain the nature of that commitment. Research has tended to investigate such factors as personality, background, career path, aspirations and job problems. For example, Moore (1980), taking a cross-occupational sample of shop stewards in Great Britain, found that shop stewards are not particularly authoritarian or motivated by a desire for power or a need to satisfy frustrated promotional needs, but take responsibility to organise shop-floor matters that are of concern to themselves and others. Webster (1984) confirms this finding in South Africa when he observes that shop stewards appear to have "a strong sense of service to their fellow workers" (p.81). Other research undertaken in Britain has analysed the role of conflict and pressure experienced by shop stewards (Nicholson, 1976) and attempted to locate the personal determinants of shop-steward militancy (Shirom, 1977). Due to the dynamic nature of industrial relations in South Africa, and the lack of homogeneity in

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the type of labour organisations, it would be beneficial to ascertain whether any differences exist between labour leaders, shop-stewards and rank and file members with respect to such attitudinal factors as union commitment and the relationship between commitment and leadership behaviours. Understanding the attributes and characteristics of shop stewards becomes especially important given the trend in emergent South African unions toward the establishment of shop steward structures.

Some research exists which attempts to ascertain militancy (i.e., attitudinal support for and active participation in organised conflict with management) regarding the individual's organisational position, social background and sources of job dissatisfaction (Schutt, 1982). Militancy can vary from involvement in nationwide boycotts and strikes to local work stoppages and interpersonal conflict with management. Different work actions and forms of militancy may be generated by different processes. This can be seen from the results of the present research. Generally, two theories of union militancy have been advanced corresponding to the extrinsic-intrinsic dichotomy: (a) that economic factors such as dissatisfaction with low pay and basic working conditions are the sources of discontent which facilitate militancy, and (b) that incongruences between members' desire for more control, power and participation, and the constraints of the job and organisational structure produce militancy (Schutt, 1982). An additional factor which has been found to influence the process of both union commitment and militancy is social background. Leggett (1968) found working class consciousness to be associated with active participation in militant activities. Also the political climate and content of the union influences union members' militant actions (Lipset,

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Trow, & Coleman, 1956). As union commitment has been found to strongly influence certain behavioural activities, it would be of value to ascertain its relationship with various types of militancy.

The present study established that a casual relationship exists between work attitudes and experiences and union attachment. However, the model hypothesised was a recursive one and consequently did not attempt to measure the possibility of reciprocal relationships and feedback loops between union commitment and its antecedent factors. There is evidence to suggest that unionisation has an effect on work attitudes. For example, if the union is instrumental in improving wages and working conditions, then employee attitudes may well improve as a result of unionism (Allen & Keaveny, 1983). Alternatively, union officials might alert their members to the unpleasant aspects of work and thereby cause a deterioration in work attitudes (Goldberg, 1981). Significant relationships have been found between job dissatisfaction and union membership (Borjas, 1979; Freeman, 1978; Kochan, 1980; Odewahn & Petty, 1980). Kochan (1980) found that union membership significantly improved employee satisfaction and compensation and decreased satisfaction with job content and resource adequacy. A synthesis of these findings has been put forward by Berger, Olson and Boudreau (1983). They argue that employees' economic satisfaction will improve if the union is perceived as being instrumental in securing tangible gains. At the same time, however, intrinsic satisfaction will diminish as employees become sensitised by their experiences as union members to problems inherent in their work. Berger *et al.*'s findings also highlight the impact of unions on shaping work values. For example, there are several reasons why promotion is

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not a high union priority: unions generally place greater emphasis on seniority than on achievement as a criterion for advancement (Olson & Berger, 1983). Also, continued promotion will eventually mean that the employee will be forced to resign from the union as he/she will join the supervisory/managerial ranks. Thus the value and satisfaction of promotion is likely to decrease. A possible guideline, therefore, for future research would be to assess whether attitudes of union commitment have an effect on work values and attitudes toward the job and employing organisation.

One attitudinal outcome variable to emerge in the industrial relations literature in the last decade is industrial relations climate, a derivative of organisational climate (Dastmalchian, Blyton & Abdollahyan, 1982; Nicholson, 1979). Three basic dimensions of industrial climate have been conceptualised; (a) "issue climate" which refers to the perceptions of the mechanisms for dealing with problems and the occurrence and satisfactory resolution of industrial relations problems (Nicholson, 1979); (b) "interpersonal climate" which consists of perceptions of interactions with members of the "other side" at all levels of the organisation (Nicholson, 1979); and (c) the extent of perceived "union support" in the organisation (Dastmalchian *et al.*, 1982). Interpersonal climate has been found to correlate significantly with measures of absenteeism, labour turnover and perceived union-management disharmony, whereas the issue and union support dimensions have been associated with organisational effectiveness measures. Dastmalchian *et al.* (1982) have demonstrated that all three dimensions of industrial relations climate moderate the relationship between behavioural outcomes and organisational effectiveness variables. In devel-

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oping future models of union commitment, therefore, industrial relations climate cannot be ignored as an important consequence.

Finally, until recently (Bluen & Barling, 1985), the psychological consequences of involvement in industrial relations processes were largely ignored. Even Gordon and Nurick's (1981) agenda for future psychological research in the area of union-management relations did not suggest investigating the potentially stressful role of individual involved in industrial relations. Several stressors are inherent in the union leader's role (Bluen, 1984). For example, they are faced with the dilemma of trying to maintain internal union democracy while at the same time being pressurised into adopting a more bureaucratic structure to meet environmental demands (Anderson, 1978). Poor funding means that there are insufficient union officials to do the required work which leads to the experience of role overload (Warr, 1981). Nicholson (1976) has identified several forms of role stress (quantitative and qualitative overload) associated with being a shop steward. Stewards also reported high levels of (a) role ambiguity because they had received no clear-cut guidelines or training, and (b) role conflict because they were continually required to interact with members of both management and workers, both of whom placed conflicting demands on them. In addition, union members are subjected to various other sources of stress such as management victimisation, being discharged for being a union member, threatened dismissal and plant closure, denial of privileges, and transfer to lower paying jobs (Bluen, 1986). Finally, strikes themselves are obviously stressful (Barling & Milligan, 1985; Thompson & Borglum, 1973). Reports of strikes in South Africa (e.g., Baskin, 1982; Nicol, 1984; Sitas, 1984) reveal extremely stressful incidents which



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include being physically chased and locked out of company premises and hostels, being threatened with permanent unemployment in an industry, being assaulted, evicted, or arrested, being forced at gunpoint to return to work by security police, and being deported back to rural areas. Macbride, Lancee and Freeman (1981) measured the psychological responses of disputing Canadian air traffic controllers. They found that during the dispute the subjects exhibited dramatically high levels of psychological distress (e.g., feelings of worthlessness, depression and strain) and a marked deterioration of perceived general functioning, physical health and psychological well-being. Barling and Milligan (1985) also found psychological stress levels to increase after involvement in strike activity. These examples illustrate that there are stressful outcomes associated with being involved in unions. Union commitment may act as a buffer to some of these stresses or it may increase role overload (both qualitative and quantitative). Either way, any model of union commitment must consider the stressful outcomes of union involvement.

### *Conclusions.*

There is, then, a considerable amount of psychological and industrial relations research which has the potential to provide a basis for a psychological model of union commitment. Not only has this research demonstrated the relevance and applicability of behavioural science concepts to the area of industrial relations, but, hopefully, it is another step in redressing the historical neglect by psychologists of labour issues. Such an hypothesised model, based on the findings of the present research and the above discussion, is presented in Figure 7.1.

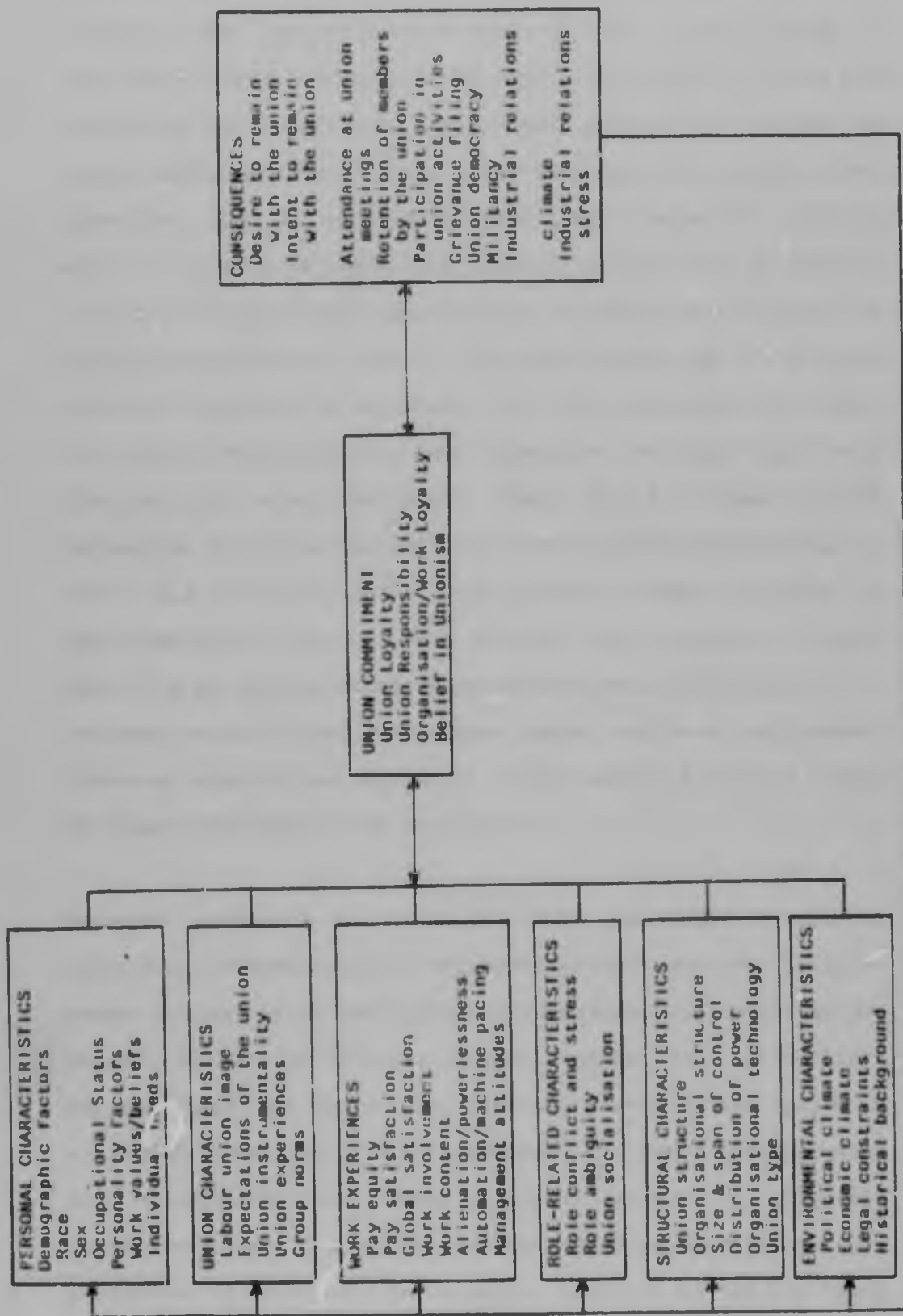


Figure 7.1.: An hypothetical model of commitment to labour organisations

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One of the major problems with previous research on organisational and union commitment is that it has relied on correlative data. As such, distinctions between the inputs and outputs of commitment have been largely speculative. Studies on union commitment have been cross-sectional in nature and, therefore, are not capable of developing a causative, dynamic model of union commitment. The present research was an attempt to adopt a longitudinal, multivariate design in order to explain the directionality of some of the psychological and behavioural processes involved in an aspect of union commitment. A number of relevant variables have been identified as significant concomitants of union commitment. These should provide valuable guidelines for future research aimed at further ascertaining the nature and direction of the relationships between variables in the commitment process. This research must continue to steer away from an over-reliance on cross-sectional designs which illuminate associational rather than causal analyses, and concentrate on longitudinal approaches which enable a process model of union commitment to be developed.

Research conducted on union commitment has tended to operate under the assumption that participative behaviours are a consequence rather than an antecedent of commitment attitudes (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). The present results confirm this assumption. However, both the current and previous research have relied on attitudinal measures of both commitment and participation which are susceptible to autocorrelational effects. Possible artefactual results could be avoided by using more direct observations of behaviour. For example, longitudinal studies which investigate the level of initial commitment to the union and eventual member involvement and turnover would establish the

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concept's predictive validity in determining union behaviours. Such research would also be useful in assessing whether perceived behavioural outcomes of union commitment reinforce and even cause hypothesised antecedents. For example, it might be suggested that participation in union activities causes an awareness of inequalities in the political structures of organisations which, in turn, facilitates dissatisfaction and stronger attitudes of attachment to the union. Alternatively, greater behavioural commitment or participation in union affairs could conceivably cause greater conflict between job, marital, and union roles. The process of union commitment probably consists of reinforcing feedback loops between attitudes and behaviours, and outcomes and antecedents (see Figure 7.1).

Further research is also required to ascertain the complexity of the interactions between antecedent variables of commitment. For example, some structural characteristics appear to moderate characteristics of the job. Commitment to "protective" unions results from concerns for greater job security and prevention of job dilution, whereas commitment to "aggressive" unions is more of a response to lack of power, desire for participation, and general alienation. The results of the present study suggest that dissatisfaction with both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards facilitate union commitment, but that this relationship is moderated by race. Kochan (1979) has shown that extrinsic dissatisfaction is moderated by occupational status. Consequently, future studies need to ascertain not only the exact nature of the relationship between speculated causes of commitment and its consequences, but also to investigate the relationships between antecedent factors. This is necessary to determine whether

methodological problems such as multicollinearity interfere with speculated definitions of the process of commitment.

Results from the present investigation have re-emphasised the importance of socialisation in the early stages of union membership as a predictor of union commitment. However, as Mowday *et al.* (1982) indicate, there is a need to investigate commitment as a continuous process which develops and fluctuates with union tenure, development, success and history. Research shows that career stage influences organisational commitment (Buchanan, 1974). With respect to commitment to labour organisations, research must investigate the effects of negotiations on commitment, how commitment is effected by the occurrence and outcome of strikes and the prevailing economic climate, and the way in which the union's previous bargaining history, specifically its success in satisfying member's needs, influences members' attitudes of attachment and participatory behaviour. Consistent with the data on organisational commitment, a strength of the proposed model is the wealth of information on the antecedents of union commitment. However, there is a paucity of information concerning the potential consequences of union commitment. Since an understanding of both the causes and consequences of union commitment is required for a comprehensive model of union commitment, further research focusing on the consequences of union commitment is required.

As mentioned above, the present study focused on only one facet of union commitment, namely union loyalty. Consequently another consideration in providing or testing a model concerns the consistent empirical support for the multidimensional nature of union commitment (Chapter 3.; Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Ladd *et al.*,

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1982). It is quite possible that the different components of union commitment (which are theoretically and statistically unrelated to each other) have diverse causes and different consequences. For example, personal work-related beliefs (e.g., Buchholz, 1978b) might be a more important predictor of beliefs in unionism in general than loyalty to a specific union. On the other hand, supervision dissatisfaction and the perceived instrumentality of the union would probably predict loyalty to a specific union more than unionism as a concept. Consequently, a comprehensive model of union commitment must consider the multidimensional nature of union commitment. In so doing, the model will be refined, and the prediction of commitment and its consequences will be enhanced.

To facilitate the development of guidelines for future research on labour and labour organisations, it is necessary to adopt an open systems analysis. Any study of labour in South Africa must "go beyond the workplace and trade unionism to include the study of the social relations which surround and shape the conditions under which labour lives and works" (Webster, 1985, p.8). As mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, psychology has tended to utilise far too closed a perspective with the result that many environmental and structural characteristics have been ignored. The complexity of adopting an open systems approach necessitates an interdisciplinary, multi-dimensional perspective involving an amalgamation of theory and findings from the areas of history, economics, government, sociology, psychology and law. Unfortunately, the tendency of the systems approach has been for the various disciplines to claim the area of labour and industrial relations as their own prerogative. Too much emphasis has been placed on Dunlop's theoretical



framework as a basis for industrial relations theory (Bendix, 1978). The result is that the focus of social science research into labour matters has been on the environmental determinants of industrial relations to the neglect of the psychological concerns of the human actors involved (Hyman, 1975). Systems approaches (e.g., Dunlop, 1958) have neglected such concepts as commitment attitudes, perceptions, expectations and motivations (Bain & Clegg, 1974; Jackson, 1977). The present research has indicated that union commitment is an important concomitant of the labour process and a determinant of the active participation of union members in industrial relations. This does not mean that psychology should focus exclusively on the individual as the unit of analysis and ignore the institutional and historical setting. The above guidelines are an attempt to emphasise the psychological factors inherent in industrial relations systems whilst acknowledging the impact of environmental, economic, political, legal, social, and technological contexts.

Perhaps a more serious problem, both with the present research and previous psychological studies on organised labour, is the overemphasis on the experimental and survey traditions. These traditions are concerned with discovering *a priori* causal laws or data-based relationships. Experimenters working in these traditions control subject activities and define appropriate responses. Problems are defined either through a process of deduction from theory, or a process of induction from data. There are serious disadvantages associated with this type of approach, especially in ill-defined, under-researched areas. An alternative, more appropriate approach is needed, especially at this stage of development in South African industrial relations and with the low levels of trust that exist between organised labour

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and psychologists (Fullagar & Paizis, 1986). The National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR), a major research institute for the application of psychology to industry in South Africa, has pointed out some of the problems associated with this lack of credibility,

Another aspect of research (into labour)...is the credibility of the research organisation. Without credibility some areas will be completely closed. The NIPR's experience has been that association however tenuous with the government or management is a very serious obstacle...The whole field cries out for internal research but the same factors make research extremely difficult. Hostility and suspicion cause any requests for information from white institutions to be treated with caution and reserve, and innocuous and misleading responses are common experience on sensitive questions. Who is to know the black interviewer is not a police informer, particularly if he is employed by a white institution. (Hall, 1984, p.4)

Webster (1986) has stated the need for a new type of labour studies which takes into account the "different material and political conditions of labour in South Africa...and the emergence of a kind of political unionism where the trade union movement comes to play a leading not secondary role in political struggle" (p.7). This new labour studies aims at developing unions as a social force. Southall (1984) has reiterated this aim:

The 'new' labour literature is highly committed politically and makes no pretension whatsoever to 'neutrality' as if workers and employers play equal but different roles in the unending process of capitalist production. It is unashamedly partisan on behalf of workers in struggle, and further in the case of South Africa, it views the non-racial trade union movement as a major vehicle (but not necessarily the preeminent one) for rapidly transforming relations between capital and labour in the workplace and between oppressors and oppressed in the polity (p.89).

Another characteristic of the new labour studies is its emphasis on union democracy and worker participation (Webster, 1985). A more participatory form of research would place greater emphasis on social change and a democratic process of investigation. What is needed is joint research action to solve shared problems and

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encourage mutual participation in decision making (Hall, 1975). Participants in the labour process should be involved in defining problems, designing research which suits their needs, and analysing and collecting data. Consequently, any skewed distribution of power between researcher and researched could be minimised if researchers adopt the role of "resource" rather than "expert". Such a participatory approach would ensure that research would (a) be of use to parties involved, and (b) provide the basis for future research aimed at establishing a relevant body of theory.

### *Summary.*

To conclude, this dissertation has attempted to illustrate the importance of the concept of union commitment. Commitment provides researchers and unions with a measure of member involvement and attachment to labour organisations. As such it is important to understand commitment, not only for the purpose of psychological research on unions, but also for labour leaders to improve deteriorating levels of participation and increase democratic involvement of rank and file members. Levels of commitment could be utilised as a measure for judging the effectiveness of labour organisations, assessing training programs for shop stewards, and ascertaining the success of negotiations and the strength of the union (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). However, additional research of both a theoretical and an empirical nature will be required to develop a full understanding of the conditions that foster member commitment and the processes through which union commitment grows.

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Appendix A.

*Questionnaire and covering letter for study reported in Chapter 3.*

CIRCULATED TO ALL SHOP  
STEWARDS AND GENERAL  
COUNCILMEN:

Dear Sirs,

We are trying to understand why people join and are committed to the Boilermakers Society, and what they expect the Society to do for them. It is important know this, so that your union will be able to make itself stronger and to help it satisfy your needs

In order to achieve this purpose it would be much appreciated if you would kindly complete the questionnaire yourself and distribute the enclosed questionnaires for rank and file members to complete.

# Appendix A

The BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY is conducting a survey to find out the attitudes of its members. Please could you fill in this questionnaire in your own time. When you have answered the questions, place your questionnaire in the stamped envelope and post it off as soon as possible.

We are trying to understand why people are or are not committed to the BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY, and what they expect the BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY to do for them. It is important to know this, so that your union will be able to make itself stronger and to help it satisfy your needs.

Now it is important that you answer the questions in terms of how you yourself feel, and not in terms of how you think your union or your company would like you to answer. THIS WILL BE MORE HELPFUL. We do not ask for your name or address, so there is no way of finding out who you are from what you write. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS, WE JUST WANT YOU TO ANSWER HONESTLY.

1. What race are you? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How long have you been a member of the Boilermakers' Society? \_\_\_\_\_ (Years)
3. Which of the following positions have you held during the time you have been a member of the union? (Place a cross by the ones you have held)

SHOP STEWARD	
SHOP STEWARDS' COMMITTEE ORGANISER	
DISTRICT DELEGATE	
BRANCH COMMITTEE MEMBER	
BRANCH SECRETARY	
BRANCH VICE-CHAIRMAN	
BRANCH CHAIRMAN	
GENERAL COUNCILMAN	
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER	

4. Do you think that there should be cooperation between registered and unregistered trade unions in South Africa? (Place a cross by your response)

YES	
NOT SURE	
NO	

5. If you think there should be cooperation, do you think that this cooperation should take place at

THE FACTORY FLOOR LEVEL?	
THE EXECUTIVE LEVEL?	
ALL LEVELS?	

6. Do you support the Boilermakers' Society break away from TUCSA?

YES	
NOT SURE	
NO	

# Appendix A

The BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY is conducting a survey to find out the attitudes of its members. Please could you fill in this questionnaire in your own time. When you have answered the questions, place your questionnaire in the stamped envelope and post it off as soon as possible.

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3. Which of the following positions have you held during the time you have been a member of the union? (Place a cross by the ones you have held)

SHOP STEWARD	
SHOP STEWARDS' COMMITTEE ORGANISER	
DISTRICT DELEGATE	
BRANCH COMMITTEE MEMBER	
BRANCH SECRETARY	
BRANCH VICE-CHAIRMAN	
BRANCH CHAIRMAN	
GENERAL COUNCILMAN	
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER	

4. Do you think that there should be cooperation between registered and unregistered trade unions in South Africa? (Place a cross by your response)

YES	
NOT SURE	
NO	

5. If you think there should be cooperation, do you think that this cooperation should take place at

THE FACTORY FLOOR LEVEL?	
THE EXECUTIVE LEVEL?	
ALL LEVELS?	

6. Do you support the Boilermakers' Society break away from TUCSA?

YES	
NOT SURE	
NO	

# Appendix A

The BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY is conducting a survey to find out the attitudes of its members. Please could you fill in this questionnaire in your own time. When you have answered the questions, place your questionnaire in the stamped envelope and post it off as soon as possible.

We are trying to understand why people are or are not committed to the BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY, and what they expect the BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY to do for them. It is important to know this, so that your union will be able to make itself stronger and to help it satisfy your needs.

Now it is important that you answer the questions in terms of how you yourself feel, and not in terms of how you think your union or your company would like you to answer. THIS WILL BE MORE HELPFUL. We do not ask for your name or address, so there is no way of finding out who you are from what you write. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS, WE JUST WANT YOU TO ANSWER HONESTLY.

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2. How long have you been a member of the Boilermakers' Society? \_\_\_\_\_ (Years)
3. Which of the following positions have you held during the time you have been a member of the union? (Place a cross by the ones you have held)

SHOP STEWARD	
SHOP STEWARDS' COMMITTEE ORGANISER	
DISTRICT DELEGATE	
BRANCH COMMITTEE MEMBER	
BRANCH SECRETARY	
BRANCH VICE-CHAIRMAN	
BRANCH CHAIRMAN	
GENERAL COUNCILMAN	
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER	

4. Do you think that there should be cooperation between registered and unregistered trade unions in South Africa? (Place a cross by your response)

YES	
NOT SURE	
NO	

5. If you think there should be cooperation, do you think that this cooperation should take place at

THE FACTORY FLOOR LEVEL?	
THE EXECUTIVE LEVEL?	
ALL LEVELS?	

6. Do you support the Boilermakers' Society break away from TUCSA?

YES	
NOT SURE	
NO	



Appendix A

Could you tell us whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements about the BOLLERMAKERS SOCIETY. Please tell us what you yourself think and NOT what you believe your union wants you to think. This will be more helpful. (PLACE A CROSS IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE)

	AGREE	UNSURE	DISAGREE
1). It is every union member's responsibility to see to it that management "lives up to" all the terms of the agreement			
2). It is the duty of every worker to "keep his/her ears open" for information that might be useful to the union			
3). Moving ahead in the company is more important than staying in the union			
4). I feel LITTLE loyalty to the union			
5). As long as I am doing the kind of work I enjoy, it does not matter if I belong to this union			
6). It is every member's duty to support or help another worker use the grievance procedure			
7). I am willing to put a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected of a member in order to make the union successful			
8). I could just as well work in a nonunion company as long as the type of work was similar			
9). I have little confidence and trust in most officers of the union			
10). I tell my friends that the union is a great organisation to be a member of			
11). There's a lot to be gained by joining the union			
12). The CRUCIBLE/SMELTKROES is not worth reading			
13). I doubt that I would do special work to help the union			
14). The union member does not get enough benefits for the money taken by the union for dues			
15). I intend to improve my relations with management by NOT being active in the union			
16). Deciding to join the union was a good move on my part			
17). My values and the union's are not very similar			
18). If asked I would serve on a committee for the union			
19). The union newsletter does not contain any useful information			
20). If asked I would run for an elected office in the union			
21). The only reason I belong to the union is to make sure I get promotions			
22). My loyalty is to my work, not to the union			
23). I plan to be a member of the union for the rest of the time I work for this company			
24). The record of the union is a good example of what dedicated people can get done			
25). Very little that the membership wants has any real importance to the union			
26). It's the shop steward's job, NOT the member's duty to see that management is living by the agreement			
27). I feel a sense of pride being part of this union			
28). If you were victimised by management for being a member of the union, would you continue to support the union			

Appendix B.

*Questionnaire and covering letter for study reported in Chapter 5.*

Dear Boilermaker Member,

This is part of a survey that is being conducted on members of the union to find about some of the problems you may be experiencing at work and with the union. The reasons we ask these questions is to help us understand your needs so that we can think about doing something to satisfy them.

SOME OF YOU MAY HAVE COMPLETED THE QUESTIONS BEFORE. IF SO, IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT YOU COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE AGAIN. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT WE WANT TO FIND OUT IF YOUR ATTITUDES HAVE CHANGED IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS.

Now the questions we ask are about your work and your union. It is important that you answer the questions in terms of how you yourself feel, and not in terms of how you think your union or your company would like you to answer. This will be more helpful. WE DO NOT ASK FOR YOUR NAME SO THERE IS NO WAY OF FINDING OUT WHO YOU ARE FROM WHAT YOU WRITE. However, if you feel uncertain or uneasy about any questions, just leave it out. There are no right or wrong answers. We just want you to answer honestly.

Once you have completed the questionnaire all you have to do is place it in the envelope provided and post it off AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. Please note, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO PUT A STAMP ON THE ENVELOPE, the postage has already been paid for.\*

WE THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO DO THIS AND HOPE THAT WE CAN USE THE RESULTS TO HELP YOU WITH ANY PROBLEMS YOU MAY BE HAVING.

\* For the survey of rank and file members at the two factories this instruction was changed and respondents were requested to place the completed questionnaires in collection boxes which were strategically placed in the plant.

Appendix B

Dear Brother/Sister,

SURVEY OF PROBLEMS.

About 8 months ago we sent you a questionnaire to find out how you feel about problems you are facing and the way in which they are being dealt with.

A large number of you responded and the valuable information which you supplied has been processed. It has now become necessary to carry out the second part of the survey.

It is very important that those of you who responded to the first survey should do so again. That will give us the opportunity to form balanced conclusions and derive the maximum benefit from the survey.

There are many things we have to find out to enable us to organise our Society in the most efficient manner so that we can give our members the best possible service.

Please help by completing the questionnaire and returning it in the addressed envelope enclosed. You do not need to pay for postage as this has already been done.

Appendix B

Dear Boilermaker Member,

This is part of a survey that is being conducted on members of the union to find about some of the problems you may be experiencing at work and with the union. The reasons we ask these questions is to help us understand your needs so that we can think about doing something to satisfy them.

SOME OF YOU MAY HAVE COMPLETED THE QUESTIONS BEFORE. IF SO, IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT YOU COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE AGAIN. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT WE WANT TO FIND OUT IF YOUR ATTITUDES HAVE CHANGED IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS.

Now the questions we ask are about your work and your union. It is important that you answer the questions in terms of how you yourself feel, and not in terms of how you think your union or your company would like you to answer. This will be more helpful. WE DO NOT ASK FOR YOUR NAME SO THERE IS NO WAY OF FINDING OUT WHO YOU ARE FROM WHAT YOU WRITE. However, if you feel uncertain or uneasy about any questions, just leave it out. There are no right or wrong answers. We just want you to answer honestly.

Once you have completed the questionnaire all you have to do is place it in the envelope provided and post it off AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. Please note, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO PUT A STAMP ON THE ENVELOPE, the postage has already been paid for.\*

WE THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO DO THIS AND HOPE THAT WE CAN USE THE RESULTS TO HELP YOU WITH ANY PROBLEMS YOU MAY BE HAVING.

\* For the survey of rank and file members at the two factories this instruction was changed and respondents were requested to place the completed questionnaires in collection boxes which were strategically placed in the plant.

### Appendix B

First of all, we would like to ask you some questions about yourself. We do not want to know your name or address, so nobody will be able to find out who you are from your answers.

1). What race are you? \_\_\_\_\_

2). What sex are you? (Place a cross in the appropriate box)

MALE	
FEMALE	

3). When were you born? (DATE) \_\_\_\_\_

4). How many people do you support with your salary? \_\_\_\_\_

5). What level of education have you reached? (Cross the appropriate box)

NO EDUCATION	
LESS THAN STANDARD 1	
STANDARD 1 - STANDARD 5	
STANDARD 6 - J.C.	
STANDARD 9/MATRIC	
POST MATRIC/DIPLOMA	
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	

6). What job do you have with your present company? \_\_\_\_\_

7). How long have you been with this company? \_\_\_\_\_ (Years)

8). How much do you earn PER WEEK? R \_\_\_\_\_

9). For how long have you been a member of the union? \_\_\_\_\_ (Years)

10). What position do you hold with the union? \_\_\_\_\_

11). Here are some statements that have been made about Unions IN GENERAL. Please can you show us the extent to which you AGREE or DISAGREE with these statements by placing a cross in the appropriate box.

UNIONS PROTECT WORKERS AGAINST UNFAIR PRACTICES					
UNIONS IMPROVE JOB SECURITY					
UNIONS IMPROVE WAGES					
UNIONS GIVE MEMBER'S THEIR MONEY'S WORTH					
UNIONS IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS					
UNIONS IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF SUPERVISION					
GENERALLY, UNIONS GET BETTER BENEFITS FOR WORKERS					



# Appendix B

The next set of questions deals with various aspects of your present job. We would like you to place a cross next to your response indicating whether you feel VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, INDIFFERENT, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED with each of these features of your present job.

	VERY DISSATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	INDIFFERENT	SATISFIED	VERY SATISFIED
1). The physical work conditions					
2). The freedom to choose your own method of working					
3). Your fellow workers					
4). The recognition you get for good work					
5). Your immediate boss					
6). The amount of responsibility you are given					
7). Your rate of pay					
8). Your opportunity to use your abilities					
9). Industrial relations between management and workers in your company					
10). Your chance of promotion					
11). The way your company is managed					
12). The attention paid to suggestions you make					
13). The amount of variety in your job					
14). Your job security					
15). Now, taking everything into consideration, how do you feel about your job as a whole?					

Now consider some of the aspects of your life at the present moment, and indicate whether you feel VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, UNSURE, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED with each of these features of your life

	VERY DISSATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	UNSURE	SATISFIED	VERY SATISFIED
1). The house, flat or room you live in					
2). The local district you live in					
3). The standard of living; the things you can do and buy					
4). The way you spend your leisure time					
5). Your present state of health					
6). The education you have received					
7). What you are accomplishing in life					
8). What the future seems to hold for you					
9). Your social life					
10). Your family life					
11). The present government					
12). Freedom and democracy in South Africa today					
13). The state of law and order in South Africa today					
14). The moral standards and values in South Africa today					
15). South Africa's reputation in the world today					
16). Taking everything together, your life as a whole these days					



# Appendix B

Now here are some statements that people have made about work, but this time think about your present job, not work in general. Please indicate again whether you agree or disagree with each comment.

	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	UNSURE	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
1. The most important things that happen to me involve my present job					
2. To me, my job is only a small part of who I am					
3. I am very much involved personally in my job					
4. I live, eat, and breathe my job					
5. Most of my interests are centred around my job					
6. I have very strong ties with my present job which would be very difficult to break					
7. Usually I feel detached from my job					
8. Most of my personal life goals are job oriented					
9. I consider my job to be very central to my existence					
10. I like to be absorbed in my job most of the time					

# Appendix B

Next we would like to find out your views about the nature of work. Again, could you please indicate whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the statements below by marking the appropriate box with a cross.

	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	UNSURE	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
1. Only those that depend on themselves get ahead in life					
2. The free enterprise system mainly benefits the rich and powerful					
3. To be superior a person must stand alone					
4. The rich do not make much of a contribution to society					
5. One can learn better on the job by striking out boldly on one's own than one can by following the advice of others					
6. The working classes should have more say in running society					
7. Workers get their fair share of the economic rewards of society					
8. One must avoid dependence on other persons whenever possible					
9. One should work like a slave at everything one undertakes until one is satisfied with the results					
10. Factories would be run better if workers had more of a say in management					
11. The work of workers is exploited by the rich for their own benefit					
12. Workers should be more active in making decisions about products, financing, and capital investment					
13. By working hard a person can overcome every obstacle that life presents					
14. Wealthy people carry their fair share of the burdens of life in this country					
15. Management does not understand the needs of the worker					
16. One should live one's life independent of others as much as possible					
17. Workers should be represented on the board of directors of companies					
18. The most important work in South Africa is done by workers					

# Appendix B

Could you tell us whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements about the HOLLERWATERS SOCIETY. Please tell us what you yourself think and NOT what you believe your union wants you to think. This will be more helpful. (PLACE A CROSS IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE)

	AGREE	UNSURE	DISAGREE
1). It is every union member's responsibility to see to it that management "lives up to" all the terms of the agreement			
2). It is the duty of every worker to "keep his/her ear open" for information that might be useful to the union			
3). Moving ahead in the company is more important than staying in the union			
4). I feel <u>LITTLE</u> loyalty to the union			
5). As long as I am doing the kind of work I enjoy, it does not matter if I belong to this union			
6). It is every member's duty to support or help another worker use the grievance procedure			
7). I am willing to put a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected of a member in order to make the union successful			
8). I could just as well work in a nonunion company as long as the type of work was similar			
9). I have little confidence and trust in most officers of the union			
10). I tell my friends that the union is a great organisation to be a member of			
11). There's a lot to be gained by joining the union			
12). The <u>CRUCIBLE/SMELTROES</u> is not worth reading			
13). I doubt that I would do special work to help the union			
14). The union member does not get enough benefits for the money taken by the union for dues			
15). I intend to improve my relations with management by NOT being active in the union			
16). Deciding to join the union was a good move on my part			
17). My values and the union's are not very similar			
18). If asked I would serve on a committee for the union			
19). The union newsletter does not contain any useful information			
20). If asked I would run for an elected office in the union			
21). The only reason I belong to the union is to make sure I get promotions			
22). My loyalty is to my work, not to the union			
23). I plan to be a member of the union for the rest of the time I work for this company			
24). The record of the union is a good example of what dedicated people can get done			
25). Very little that the membership wants has any real importance to the union			
26). It's the shop steward's job, NOT the member's duty to see that management is living by the agreement			
27). I feel a sense of pride being part of this union			
28). If you were victimised by management for being a member of the union, would you continue to support the union			

## Appendix B

We now want to ask you some questions about your feelings about the union when you first became a member.

1) When you first joined the union,

Were the goals of the union clear to you?			
Did you feel good being a member of the union?			
Did you see the union as being a strong one?			
Did the union give you much support or encouragement?			
Were you ignored by the union once you had joined?			
Did the union try to influence your beliefs and opinions?			

2). In the first few months when you were a member of the union,

Did you get a personal invitation to a union meeting?			
Were you given any help settling a grievance?			
Was your vote ever asked for during a union election?			
Were you ever personally informed about parts of the agreement which relate to your job?			
Were you given a lot of information about the union?			

# Appendix B

3). Did you vote in the last election for union officers?

YES	
NO	

4). How often do you attend local union meetings?

NEVER	
SOME OF THE TIME	
MOST OF THE TIME	
ALL OF THE TIME	

5). How familiar are you with the provisions of the Agreement that your union has with the company?

I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT WHAT IS IN THE AGREEMENT	
I KNOW A LITTLE OF WHAT IS IN THE AGREEMENT	
I KNOW QUITE A BIT OF WHAT IS IN THE AGREEMENT	
I KNOW A LOT OF WHAT IS IN THE AGREEMENT	

6). When you have a grievance, do you take it up or do you let it go by?

I ALWAYS LET IT GO BY	
I SOMETIMES SEE TO IT	
I ALWAYS TAKE IT UP	

7). Are you an elected union officer?

YES	
NO	

8). Do you serve on a union committee?

YES	
NO	

9). Have you ever filed a grievance against the company?

YES	
NO	

### Appendix C.

*T-tests between final sample (n = 308)  
and one-time respondents (n = 226) on the study variables.*

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	Degrees of Freedom	t value
<i>Number of dependents</i>					
Final sample	305	4.69	2.17	527	0.88
Remainder	224	4.72	2.00		
<i>Level of Education</i>					
Final sample	304	4.15	0.81	525	0.72
Remainder	223	4.12	0.72		
<i>Company tenure</i>					
Final sample	303	7.46	6.11	525	0.36
Remainder	224	6.90	5.91		
<i>Weekly salary</i>					
Final sample	293	178.79	89.37	509	0.46
Remainder	218	171.86	90.06		
<i>Union tenure</i>					
Final sample	300	7.75	7.83	520	0.47
Remainder	222	7.19	7.37		
<i>Age</i>					
Final sample	304	37.29	11.01	523	0.08
Remainder	221	35.30	10.36		
<i>Union Instrumentality</i>					
Final sample	305	26.16	5.36	528	0.56
Remainder	225	25.83	5.69		
<i>Extrinsic Job Satisfaction</i>					
Final sample	303	23.52	7.39	526	0.47
Remainder	225	24.05	6.90		
<i>Intrinsic Job Satisfaction</i>					
Final sample	304	20.35	6.54	526	0.97
Remainder	224	20.38	6.70		
<i>Early Socialisation Experiences</i>					
Final sample	304	25.35	5.55	523	0.76
Remainder	221	25.17	5.94		
<i>Job Involvement</i>					
Final sample	305	32.00	8.46	529	0.85
Remainder	226	32.16	7.70		
<i>Life Satisfaction</i>					
Final sample	304	49.21	13.24	526	0.29
Remainder	224	47.82	11.94		



# Appendix C

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	Degrees of Freedom	t value
<i>Marxist-Related Beliefs</i>					
Final sample	306	38.56	8.02	529	0.18
Remainder	225	39.49	5.87		
<i>Work Ethic Beliefs</i>					
Final sample	306	22.00	4.68	529	0.60
Remainder	225	21.76	4.53		
<i>Union Loyalty</i>					
Final sample	308	23.77	3.78	529	0.91
Remainder	223	23.81	3.85		
<i>Participation in the Union</i>					
Final sample	302	9.72	2.92	519	0.47
Remainder	219	7.67	4.04		

# Appendix D.

Tests of linearity for the independent variables  
in the path model.

Independent variables	F ratio		$\eta^2 - R^2$
	Linearity	Deviation from linearity	
<b>BLACK SAMPLE</b>			
<i>Formal Participation</i>			
Union Loyalty	31.62	0.28	0.00
Union instrumentality	45.34	0.57	0.00
Extrinsic satisfaction	13.32	4.61	0.04
Intrinsic satisfaction	19.88	3.33	0.02
Union socialisation	34.21	1.62	0.00
Life satisfaction	25.13	3.59	0.03
Job involvement	28.67	1.27	0.00
Work ethic beliefs	29.14	0.95	0.00
Marxist-related beliefs	47.26	2.69	0.01
<i>Union Loyalty</i>			
Union instrumentality	34.51	3.72	0.02
Extrinsic satisfaction	13.32	0.61	0.00
Intrinsic satisfaction	56.61	2.33	0.00
Union socialisation	50.64	0.34	0.00
Life satisfaction	23.41	2.69	0.02
Job involvement	36.67	0.12	0.00
Work ethic beliefs	21.60	0.46	0.00
Marxist-related beliefs	89.38	6.23	0.03
<b>WHITE SAMPLE</b>			
<i>Formal Participation</i>			
Union Loyalty	93.54	1.49	0.01
Union instrumentality	27.48	0.72	0.00
Extrinsic satisfaction	31.77	2.65	0.03
Intrinsic satisfaction	14.28	1.46	0.04
Union socialisation	48.04	0.73	0.00
Life satisfaction	21.15	2.10	0.03
Job involvement	16.11	2.37	0.03
Work ethic beliefs	29.14	1.95	0.01
Marxist-related beliefs	14.23	2.01	0.04
<i>Union Loyalty</i>			
Union instrumentality	64.44	9.32	0.04
Extrinsic satisfaction	90.15	0.79	0.00
Intrinsic satisfaction	16.43	0.24	0.00
Union socialisation	43.78	2.32	0.01
Life satisfaction	30.82	6.58	0.04
Job involvement	7.83	0.76	0.01
Work ethic beliefs	11.81	0.16	0.00
Marxist-related beliefs	38.18	0.64	0.00

## Appendix E.

### Path equations.

The path equations for the just identified model presented in Figure 4.2 are presented below. The equations have been decomposed into,

- (1) Direct Effects (DE)
- (2) Indirect Effects (IE)
- (3) Unanalysed (U)
- (4) Spurious (S)

$$* r_{19} = \underbrace{p_{91}}_{DE} + \underbrace{p_{92}r_{12} + p_{93}r_{13} + p_{94}r_{14} + p_{95}r_{15} + p_{96}r_{16} + p_{97}r_{17} + p_{98}r_{18}}_U,$$

$$r_{29} = p_{92} + p_{91}r_{21} + p_{93}r_{23} + p_{94}r_{24} + p_{95}r_{25} + p_{96}r_{26} + p_{97}r_{27} + p_{98}r_{28}$$

$$r_{39} = p_{93} + p_{91}r_{31} + p_{92}r_{32} + p_{94}r_{34} + p_{95}r_{35} + p_{96}r_{36} + p_{97}r_{37} + p_{98}r_{38}$$

$$r_{49} = p_{94} + p_{91}r_{41} + p_{92}r_{42} + p_{93}r_{43} + p_{95}r_{45} + p_{96}r_{46} + p_{97}r_{47} + p_{98}r_{48}$$

$$r_{59} = p_{95} + p_{91}r_{51} + p_{92}r_{52} + p_{93}r_{53} + p_{94}r_{54} + p_{96}r_{56} + p_{97}r_{57} + p_{98}r_{58}$$

$$r_{69} = p_{96} + p_{91}r_{61} + p_{92}r_{62} + p_{93}r_{63} + p_{94}r_{64} + p_{95}r_{65} + p_{97}r_{67} + p_{98}r_{68}$$

$$r_{79} = p_{97} + p_{91}r_{71} + p_{92}r_{72} + p_{93}r_{73} + p_{94}r_{74} + p_{95}r_{75} + p_{96}r_{76} + p_{98}r_{78}$$

$$r_{89} = p_{98} + p_{91}r_{81} + p_{92}r_{82} + p_{93}r_{83} + p_{94}r_{84} + p_{95}r_{85} + p_{96}r_{86} + p_{97}r_{87}$$

$$* r_{110} = \underbrace{p_{101}}_{DE} + \underbrace{p_{102}r_{12} + p_{103}r_{13} + p_{104}r_{14} + p_{105}r_{15} + p_{106}r_{16} + p_{107}r_{17}}_U + \underbrace{p_{108}r_{18}}_U + \underbrace{p_{109}p_{91}}_{IE} + \underbrace{p_{109}p_{92}r_{12} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{13} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{14} + p_{109}p_{95}r_{15}}_U + \underbrace{p_{109}p_{96}r_{16} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{17} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{18}}_U,$$

$$r_{210} = p_{102} + p_{101}r_{21} + p_{103}r_{23} + p_{104}r_{24} + p_{105}r_{25} + p_{106}r_{26} + p_{107}r_{27}$$

$$+ p_{108}r_{28} + p_{109}p_{92} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{21} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{23} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{24} + p_{109}p_{95}r_{25}$$

$$+ p_{109}p_{96}r_{26} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{27} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{28}$$

# Appendix E

$$\begin{aligned} r_{310} = & p_{103} + p_{101}r_{31} + p_{102}r_{32} + p_{104}r_{34} + p_{105}r_{35} + p_{106}r_{36} + p_{107}r_{37} \\ & + p_{108}r_{38} + p_{109}p_{93} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{31} + p_{109}p_{92}r_{32} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{34} + p_{109}p_{95}r_{35} \\ & + p_{109}p_{96}r_{36} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{37} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{38} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{410} = & p_{104} + p_{101}r_{41} + p_{102}r_{42} + p_{103}r_{43} + p_{105}r_{45} + p_{106}r_{46} + p_{107}r_{47} \\ & + p_{108}r_{48} + p_{109}p_{94} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{41} + p_{109}p_{92}r_{42} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{43} + p_{109}p_{95}r_{45} \\ & + p_{109}p_{96}r_{46} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{47} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{48} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{510} = & p_{105} + p_{101}r_{51} + p_{102}r_{52} + p_{103}r_{53} + p_{104}r_{54} + p_{106}r_{56} + p_{107}r_{57} \\ & + p_{108}r_{58} + p_{109}p_{95} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{51} + p_{109}p_{92}r_{52} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{53} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{54} \\ & + p_{109}p_{96}r_{56} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{57} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{58} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{610} = & p_{106} + p_{101}r_{61} + p_{102}r_{62} + p_{103}r_{63} + p_{104}r_{64} + p_{105}r_{65} + p_{107}r_{67} \\ & + p_{108}r_{68} + p_{109}p_{96} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{61} + p_{109}p_{92}r_{62} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{63} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{64} \\ & + p_{109}p_{95}r_{65} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{67} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{68} \end{aligned}$$

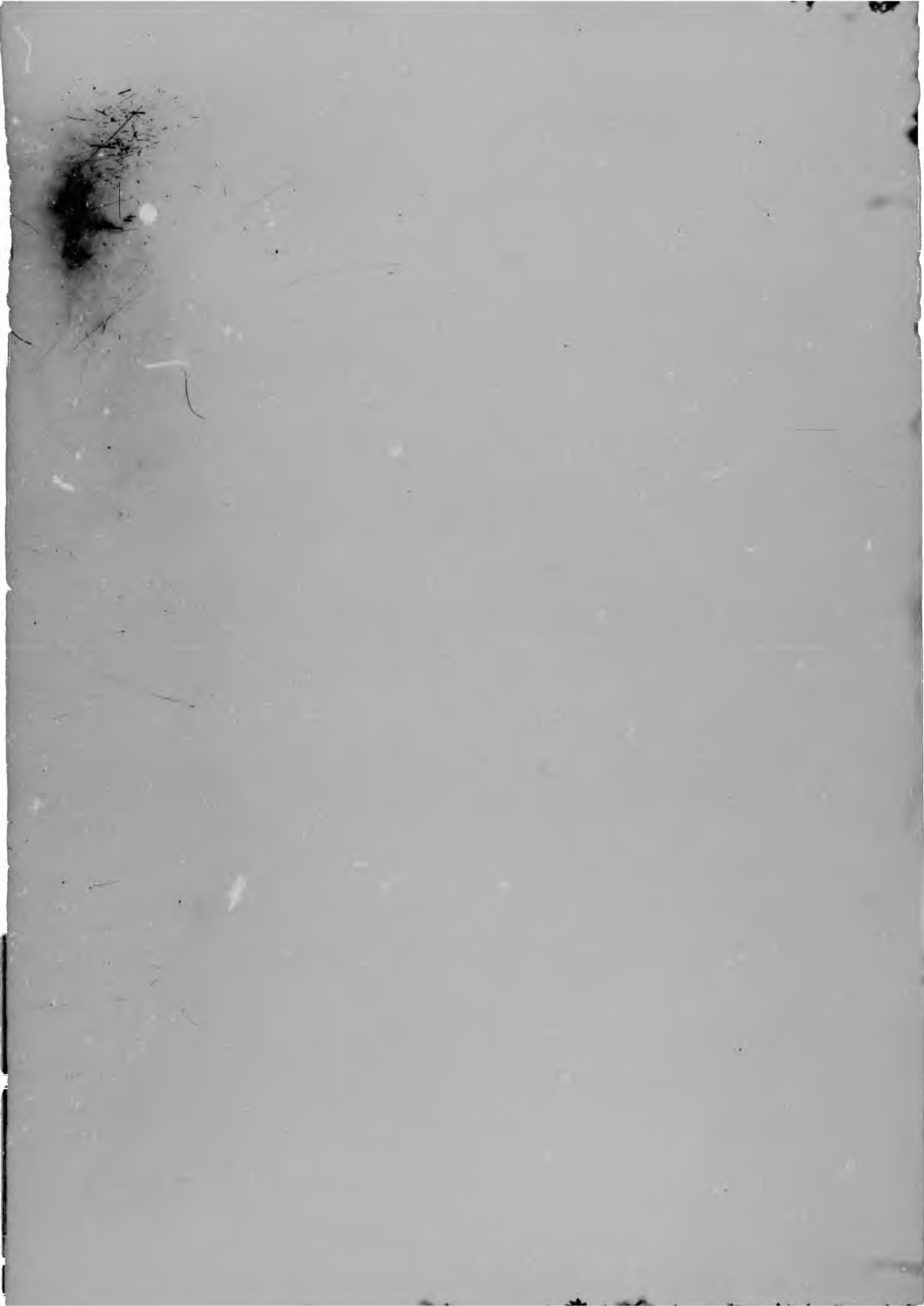
$$\begin{aligned} r_{710} = & p_{107} + p_{101}r_{71} + p_{102}r_{72} + p_{103}r_{73} + p_{104}r_{74} + p_{105}r_{75} + p_{107}r_{76} \\ & + p_{108}r_{78} + p_{109}p_{97} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{71} + p_{109}p_{92}r_{72} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{73} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{74} \\ & + p_{109}p_{95}r_{75} + p_{109}p_{96}r_{76} + p_{109}p_{98}r_{78} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{810} = & p_{108} + p_{101}r_{81} + p_{102}r_{82} + p_{103}r_{83} + p_{104}r_{84} + p_{105}r_{85} + p_{106}r_{86} \\ & + p_{107}r_{87} + p_{109}p_{98} + p_{109}p_{91}r_{81} + p_{109}p_{92}r_{82} + p_{109}p_{93}r_{83} + p_{109}p_{94}r_{84} \\ & + p_{109}p_{95}r_{85} + p_{109}p_{96}r_{86} + p_{109}p_{97}r_{87} \end{aligned}$$

# Appendix E

$$\begin{aligned}
 * r_{910} = & \underbrace{P_{109}}_{DE} + \underbrace{P_{101}P_{91} + P_{102}P_{92} + P_{103}P_{93} + P_{104}P_{94} + P_{105}P_{95} + P_{106}P_{96}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{107}P_{97} + P_{108}P_{98} + P_{101}P_{92}r_{12} + P_{101}P_{93}r_{13} + P_{101}P_{94}r_{14} + P_{101}P_{95}r_{15}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{101}P_{96}r_{16} + P_{101}P_{97}r_{17} + P_{101}P_{98}r_{18} + P_{102}P_{91}r_{21} + P_{102}P_{93}r_{23}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{102}P_{94}r_{24} + P_{102}P_{95}r_{25} + P_{102}P_{96}r_{26} + P_{102}P_{97}r_{27} + P_{102}P_{98}r_{28}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{103}P_{91}r_{31} + P_{103}P_{92}r_{32} + P_{103}P_{94}r_{34} + P_{103}P_{95}r_{35} + P_{103}P_{96}r_{36}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{103}P_{97}r_{37} + P_{103}P_{98}r_{38} + P_{104}P_{91}r_{41} + P_{104}P_{92}r_{42} + P_{104}P_{93}r_{43}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{104}P_{95}r_{45} + P_{104}P_{96}r_{46} + P_{104}P_{97}r_{47} + P_{104}P_{98}r_{48} + P_{105}P_{91}r_{51}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{105}P_{92}r_{52} + P_{105}P_{93}r_{53} + P_{105}P_{94}r_{54} + P_{105}P_{96}r_{56} + P_{105}P_{97}r_{57}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{105}P_{98}r_{58} + P_{106}P_{91}r_{61} + P_{106}P_{92}r_{62} + P_{106}P_{93}r_{63} + P_{106}P_{94}r_{64}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{106}P_{95}r_{65} + P_{106}P_{97}r_{67} + P_{106}P_{98}r_{68} + P_{107}P_{91}r_{71} + P_{107}P_{92}r_{72}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{107}P_{93}r_{73} + P_{107}P_{94}r_{74} + P_{107}P_{95}r_{75} + P_{107}P_{96}r_{76} + P_{107}P_{98}r_{78}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{108}P_{91}r_{81} + P_{108}P_{92}r_{82} + P_{108}P_{93}r_{83} + P_{108}P_{94}r_{84} + P_{108}P_{95}r_{85}}_S \\
 & + \underbrace{P_{108}P_{96}r_{86} + P_{108}P_{97}r_{87}}_S
 \end{aligned}$$

\* Only the marked equations have been decomposed as the decomposition of the other equations is identical.







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